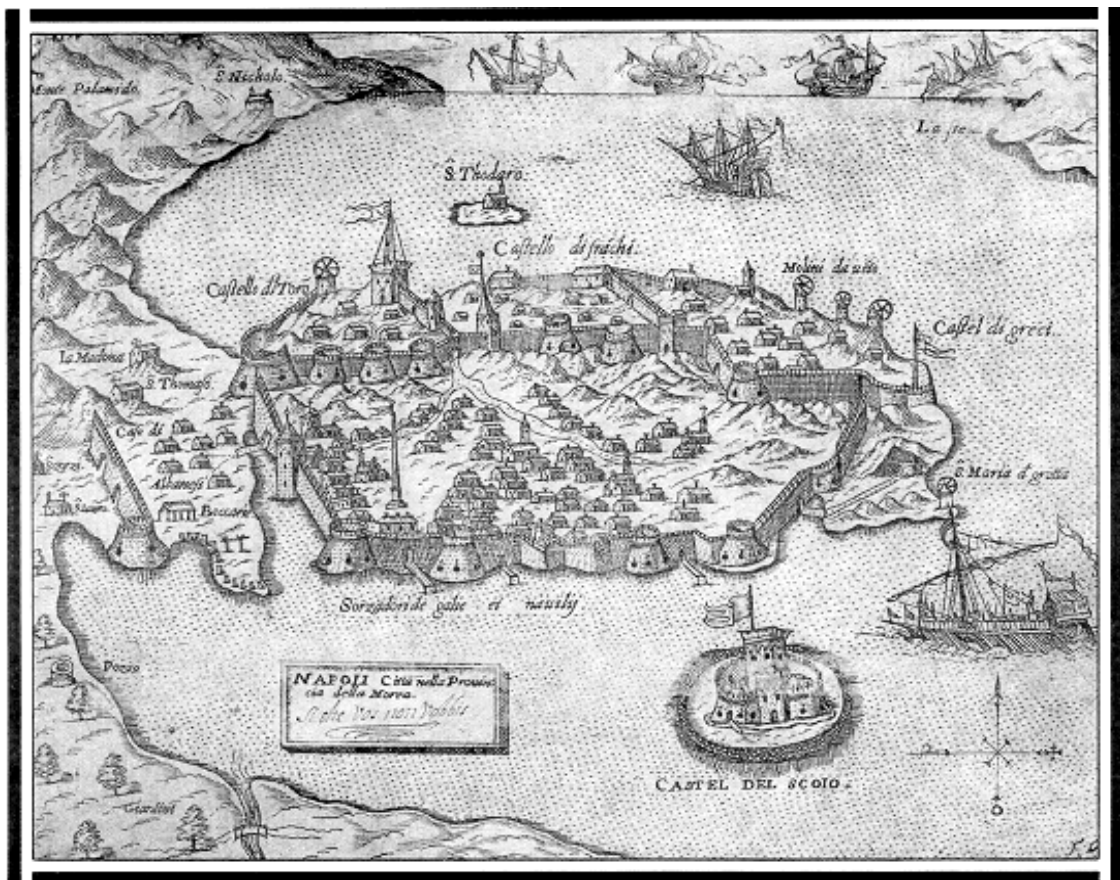


Bartolomeo Minio:

Venetian Administration in 15th-Century Nauplion



Diana Gilliland Wright

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Ἀράξαμε σ' ἀκρογιαλιὲς γεμάτες ἀρώματα νυχτερινὰ
μὲ κελαϊδίματα πουλιῶν, νερὰ ποῦ ἀφήνανε στὰ χέρια
τὴ μνήμη μιᾶς μεγάλης εὐτυχίας.
Μὰ δὲν τελειώναν τὰ ταξίδια.
ΓΣ

ἀλλ' ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς αὐθις αὐτ' ἐγὼ φανῶ.
... ἄξιος δὲ σὺ
πρὸ τοῦ θανόντος τήνδ' ἔθεσθ' ἐπιστροφὴν·
ὥστ' ἐνδίκως ὄψεσθε καὶ σύμμαχον
γῇ τῇδε τιμωροῦντα τῷ θεῷ θ' ἄμα.
Oedipus 133-136

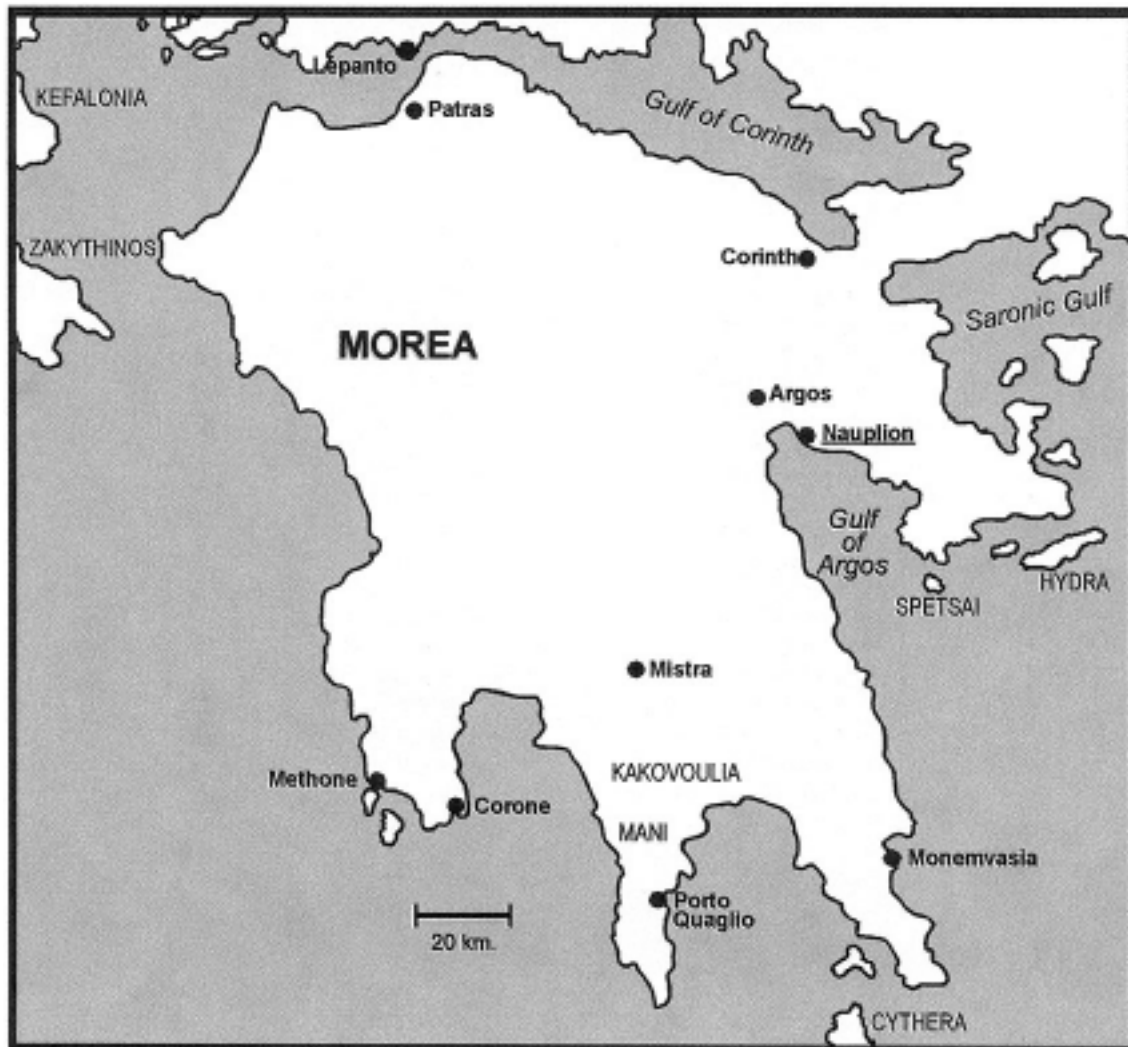
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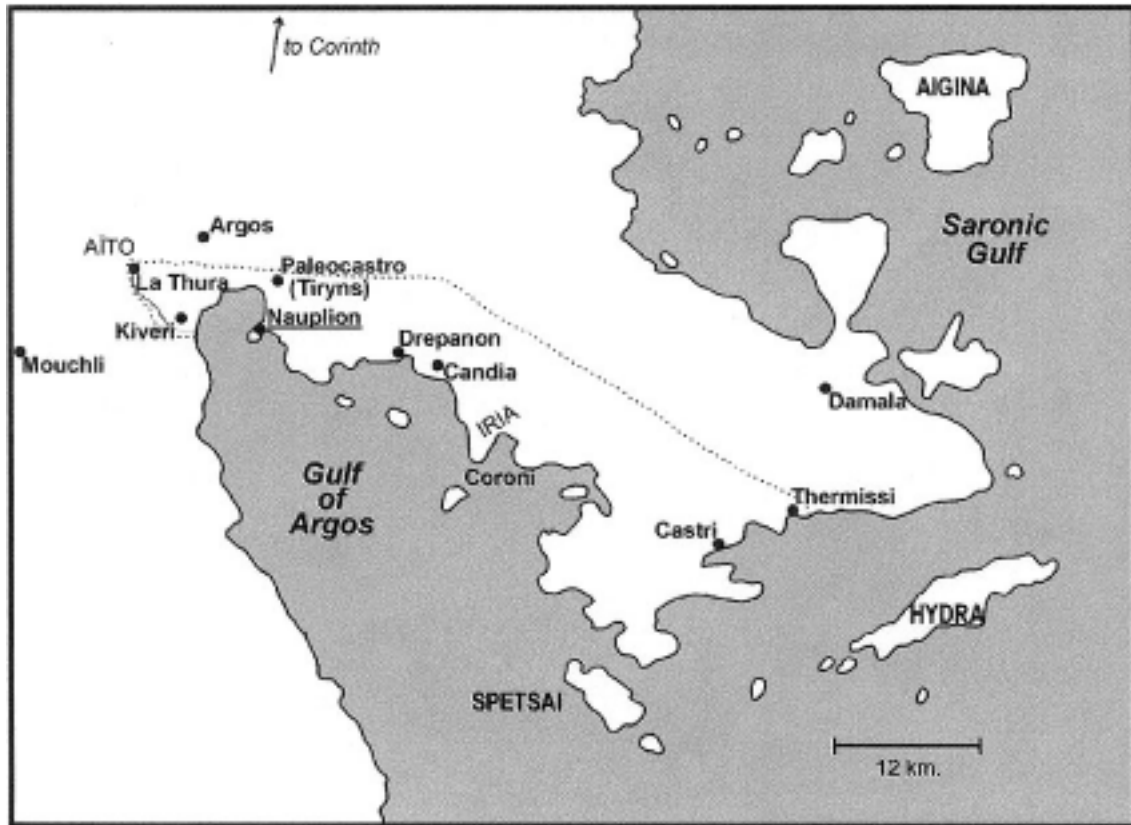
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Map 1: The Morea.



Map 2: The Argolid, showing the names Minio mentions in the *dispacci* and the 1480-1482 territorial boundary.

■ LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS ■

■ Archives, Libraries

ASV	Archivio di Stato di Venezia.
BMCV	Biblioteca del Museo Correr di Venezia.
BNMV	Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia.

■ Archival and Manuscript Citations

<i>Arbori</i>	ASV Misc. Codici, S. I: Storia veneta, m 17-23. Mario Barbaro: <i>Arbori de patritii veneti</i> .
<i>Dispacci</i>	BCMV Codici Cicogna: Ms 2653. Dispacci a senato ed altri di Ser Bartolo Minio.
<i>Dispacci: Crete</i>	BCMV Codici Cicogna: Ms 2681. Dal 1500 fino 1502 registro dei dispacci di Bartolomeo Minio Capitanio e consigliere in Candia.
<i>Liber Graecus</i>	ASV Atti diplomatici e privati, Busta 45, filza 1324: <i>Liber Graecus</i> .
Secreta	ASV Deliberazioni Secreta: Senato.
Senato Mar	ASV Senato Mar.

■ Published Works

Angiolello	[Angiolello, Giovanni Maria Angiolello (1452-1524)]. <i>Dona da Lezze (1479-1526). Historia Turchesca (1300-1514)</i> . I. Ursu editor. Bucharest, 1909.
Barbarigo	Jacomo Barbarigo, <i>Dispacci della guerra di Peloponneso, 1465-1466</i> , in Sathas, <i>Mnēmeia</i> VI, 1-92.
Beldiceanu, <i>Recherches</i>	Nicoara Beldiceanu and Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr. "Recherches sur la Morée, 1461-1512," <i>Südost-Forschungen</i> 39 (1980) 17-69.
<i>Délibérations</i>	<i>Délibérations des assemblées Vénitiennes concernant la Roumanie: 1364-1463</i> . Freddy Thiriet, editor. Paris, 2 volumes, 1971.
<i>Ellēnismos</i>	<i>O Ellēnismos upo ksenē kyriarchia: periodos 1453-1660, Tourkokratia-Latinokratia</i> , Volume 1. Series: <i>Istoria tou</i>

	<i>Ellēnikou ethnous</i> . Geōrgios Christopoulos, et. al., editors. Athens, 1974.
Hopf	<i>Chroniques Gréco-Romanes inédits ou peu connues</i> . Charles Hopf, editor. Berlin, 1873.
Magno	Stefano Magno (1499-1472). <i>Évenements historiques en Grèce, 1479-1497</i> , in Sathas, <i>Mnēmeia</i> VI, 214-236.
Miklosich & Müller	<i>Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi Sacra et Profana</i> . Vol.1: <i>Acta Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani</i> . Franz Miklosich and Ioseph Müller, editors (Vienna, 1865).
<i>Régestes</i>	<i>Régestes des délibérations du sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie</i> . Freddy Thiriet, editor. Paris, 3 volumes, 1958-1961.
<i>Relationes</i>	“Relationes Provisorum,” in Sathas, <i>Mnēmeia</i> VI, 244-254.
Sanudo	Sanudo, Marino (1466-1535). <i>Diarii</i> . R. Fuldini, F. Stefani, N. Barozzi, G. Bechet, and M. Allegri, editors. 58 volumes, Venice, 1879-1902; reprint Bologna, 1969.
Sathas	<i>Mnēmeia Ellēnikēs Istorias: Documents inédites relatifs à l’histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge</i> . Konstantine N. Sathas, editor. Paris, 9 volumes, 1880-1890.
<i>Short Chronicles</i>	<i>Die byzantinische Kleinchroniken</i> . 3 Vols. CFHB 12. Peter Schreiner, editor. Vienna, 1975-79.

■ ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ■

An accurate list of all those to whom I am indebted would equal the length of the bibliography, but I want to recognize some of them here. First and most important, my mother and first teacher, Martha Gilliland Stewart; my daughters who lived with me in Nauplion in the house attached to Bartolomeo Minio's wall: Irene Connelly, Kathleen Connelly, Rosalind Connelly; my son-in-law, Sean Tubridy, who gives hope, and my brother Peter Gilliland, who made the maps. Julia Clones, Matina McGrath, Glenn Bugh, Kate Jansen, Leonora Neville, Nelson Minnich, Fotis Baroutzos, Marios Philippides, Michael Mallett, Patricia Fortini Brown, Chryssa Maltezou, Alessandra Sambo, Mark Zapata, and Despina Vlassis offered questions and some answers. Olivio Bondesan and Riccardo Moni went out of their way to untangle bureaucratic webs. John Melville-Jones has supplied much comfort and joy. David Smiley has endured for forty years. Pierre MacKay listened to my first questions in Nauplion, introduced me to Dumbarton Oaks where I found Bartolomeo Minio and a refuge, and celebrated the conclusion of this twenty-year project in Venice. The Roy Deferrari Scholarship provided three years of tuition at The Catholic University of America, and a Gladys Kriebel Delmas Foundation Grant gave me Venice. George Dennis, SJ, was my advisor. As were the *tuğras* we examined in the Archivio di Stato, his name should be presented here in gold.

■ EJOS PREFACE ■

In publishing my dissertation here in *EJOS*, it occurs to me that the second part of the title--*Venetian Administration*--might well be changed to *A Venetian Administrator*. The book is, in retrospect, much more about Bartolomeo Minio than about Venetian administration. My admiration for him and his ability has only increased and I am pleased to be part of a project to make him more available. I am currently translating Minio's 1479-1483 Nauplion *dispacci*, discussed here, in cooperation with John Melville-Jones of the University of Western Australia. Publication is planned for early 2002, to be followed by Minio's 1500-1502 *dispacci* from Crete.

Since completing *Bartolomeo Minio* in March 1999, I have changed my mind in some areas, improved my information in others, and found some assertions to be incorrect. [I prefer not to think of the typos I have uncovered.] Rather than rewrite the whole book with a corresponding shift in emphasis, I have decided that it should stand as is. *EJOS* editor Hans Theunissen has corrected my use of Ottoman terminology: this indirectly dramatizes the need for the expansion of Ottoman studies, and for broader crossover between specialties and cooperation between specialists. I have addressed aspects of physical Nauplion in two forthcoming articles, and intend to develop Chapter Three in a book that will cover the process and personalities of the Venetian-Ottoman negotiations leading up to the peace treaty, and the subsequent territorial settlements. A diplomatic edition and translation of the treaty is forthcoming under the title: "When the *Serenissima* and the *Gran Turco* Made Love: The Peace Treaty of 1478."

Correspondence, questions, corrections will reach me at zuamdario@yahoo.com.

Diana Gilliland Wright

August 2000, Washington, DC

■ INTRODUCTION ■

Bartolomeo Minio was appointed *provveditor* of Nauplion on 13 February 1478[79].¹ He left Venice in the summer, later than expected, and then because of a lack of transport had to wait with his staff at Methone for two months until the Captain General released a galley to take him the rest of the way to Nauplion where he did not arrive until 8 November.² For ninety years, Nauplion had been a minor, although modestly profitable, city of the *stato mar*³; after the loss of Negroponte in 1470, Nauplion was discovered to be essential, “the most important land of our state in the Levant,” and an extensive fortification project was rushed through.⁴ The war between the Ottomans and the Venetians that had formally begun with the ludicrous papal crusade of 1463 had dragged on until 1479, leaving the Morea, the Turkish and Adriatic coasts, and many of the islands scraped bare of nearly all subsistence, towns burned and their people massacred, epidemics, and contingents of armed and unpaid mercenaries wandering free.⁵

The small Venetian-held territories were crowded with immigrants, while losses to death and population transfers left the Morea with its lowest population in historical times.⁶ Venice was equally exhausted. Early in the war, a patrician wrote:

¹ Senato Mar R 11, f 12r. See Appendix 2 for the text. The Venetian year began March 1, so that documents dated in January or February 1479 would, in modern dating, be considered as January or February 1480. I use the dates of the documents as written, with clarification in brackets as needed.

² *Dispacci* f 1r & 118. Lack of transport: “defetto de passazo”; staff: “famiglia.”

³ Venice administered external affairs in two general categories. The *stato terra* was subject territory in the Italian peninsula and at the head of the Adriatic: *stato mar* was any subject territory that required travel by ship. Thus the *senato mar* administered not only affairs in Albania and Greece, but on Lido, Chioggia, Torcello, Ravenna, and the galley trade to the Levant, England and the Barbary Coast. The real division was between the city of Venice and everything outside the city, rather than between the *stato terra* and *stato mar*. See Giorgio Fedalto, “La comunità greca a Venezia,” in Ghezzi, *Citta e sistema*, 207.

⁴ Senato Mar R. 10, f 19v: “quella terra Importatissima al Stado nostro de Levante.” *Dispacci* f 1v & 118. Guiseppe Gerola. “Le fortificazioni di Napoli di Romania,” *Annuario* 12-14 (1930-31) 356.

⁵ By September of 1467, fifty castles, *castelli*, had been ruined. One hundred and nine (forty-two of them ruined) were in Ottoman hands; and twenty-five (eight ruined), were in Venetian hands. “Estratti degli Annali Veneti de Stefano Magno,” Charles Hopf, *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes inédits ou peu connues* (Berlin, 1873) 205. This list cannot be considered accurate, but the numbers indicate the tendency. The term *castello* covers constructions from the small tower at Olena to entire cities such as Monemvasia and Nauplion. There is a strong and justifiable Greek tradition for rows of impaled bodies and mounds of skulls in the Ottoman wake, though there may be a blurring of detail among the various Ottoman attacks from 1423 on (and these were not exclusively Ottoman activities). Georgios Christopoulos, et. al., editors, *O Ellēnismos upo ksenē kyriarchia: periodos 1453-1660, Tourkokratia-Latinokratia*, Volume 1. Series: *Istoria tou Ellēnikou ethnous* (Athens, 1974) 269, passim. Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his Time*. Ralph Mannheim, translator (Munich, 1953; Princeton 1978) 175-177. For a glimpse of Venetian atrocities, see Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant 1204-1571*. Vol. 2: *The Fifteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1978) 317.

⁶ Peter Topping, “The Post-Classical Documents,” *The Minnesota Messenia Expedition*. William A. McDonald and George R. Rapp, Jr., editors (Minneapolis, MN, 1972) 70. See also Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, Vol. 2: *The Fifteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1978) 330-331 and n53-55.

[It weighs heavily on me] that, for this honor which has kept us in this war for so many years, we are where we were on the first day, and we have spent the harvests, the labor, the money, the deaths of men, and the animals in vain.⁷

In the mid-70s, Turkish incursions in Dalmatia and Istria had come so close to Venice that smoke from burning villages could be seen from the campanile of S. Marco, and a failed attempt at peace had resulted in the imprisonment of three patricians.⁸ Although Mehmed II had issued a *‘ahd-name* (peace treaty) in January, the situation in the Morea was fragile: local Ottoman officials engaged in quasi-official land grabs and piracy, the mercenaries were long unpaid, and many Moreote Greeks and Albanians regarded the choice to abandon war against the Turks as a Venetian betrayal.⁹

The *‘ahd-name* was the beginning of a long and complex evolution of peace, negotiated one patch of land at a time by Ottoman and Venetian officials of varying abilities, and a peace far less dependent on decisions from Venice and Constantinople and their administrators in the field than it was on the actions of Greeks, Turks and Albanians under their rule.

* * * * *

By following chronologically the *dispacci* of Bartolomeo Minio, this dissertation will show the evolution of the structures of peace in Greece and, at the same time, how Venetian administration in the *stato mar* worked out in daily issues.¹⁰ It will demonstrate through the experiences of an anxious, hard-working, and honorable narrator, the fluid political and cultural boundaries between Venetian and Greek and Ottoman and Albanian, and the adaptability of administrative structures. It will show that the real issues of peace were not those of Venetians and Ottomans, but those of Venetian and Ottoman order under assault from Greek, Albanian, and Turkish bandits and pirates. Last, it will attempt to give a sense of what fifteenth-century Nauplion must have been.

Modern historical writing on medieval Greece began, after the establishment of the new kingdom of Greece in 1827 and the transplant of the capital from Nauplion to Athens, with various encyclopedic efforts to acquire for Greece a history that would bridge the *agrafa*, the “unwritten” dark ages between the Fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the then-present. Ironically, one of the earliest, and still essential, works was Joseph von Hammer-

⁷ Andrea Duodo, *Pro bello Peloponnesi*, in Konstantine Sathas, *Mnēmeia Ellēnikēs Istorias: Documents inédites relatifs à l’histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge* (Paris, 9 volumes, 1880-1890) VI, 102: “chome delo honore che fa anni sian stai su sta guera, e siamo a quello se era el primo zorno, e abiamo meso la semenza, la fadiga, la spesa, la more de li homini, e de li iumenti indarno.”

⁸ S. Romanin, *Storia Documentata di Venezia*, Vol. 4. Third edition (Venice, original printing 1853) 275-276.

⁹ This illicitly-seized land was for the most part returned. Venice regarded the treaty with relief. It is not accidental, however, that the most detailed and best-known Greek account of Greece under foreign domination refers to the negotiator of the treaty, Zuam Dario, as a Jew. *Ellēnismos*, 274: Ἑβραῖος Κρητικὸς Ἰωάννης Δαρειός: “a Cretan Jew, Zuam Dario.”

¹⁰ The many dates of territorial acquisition and loss (Crete, 1210-1667; Methone and Corone, 1206-1500; Nauplion, 1387-1540, etc.) complicate the definition of terms. For the purpose of this dissertation, “medieval Greece” is non-Byzantine Greece (Franks, Venetians, Neopolitans, Genoese, Catalans, Aragonese, Lombards, Germans, and English) between 1204 and 1540, when Venice was forced to give up Nauplion and Monemvasia, the last *terre* in Greece.) There was a second effort at Venetian rule which lasted from 1686-1715 and took in almost the whole Morea.

Purgstall's *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, published in the author's definitive French edition as *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1835) which made extensive use of Greek documents and called attention to Ottoman source material in the Archivio di Stato of Venice as a mine for Greek history.

The 1860s and 70s provided the groundwork for all future writing in English on the medieval period with George Finlay's *A History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time, BC 146 to AD 1864* (Oxford, 1865; revised and edited, H. F. Tozer. Oxford, 1872), again using Byzantine sources; Franz Miklosich and Joseph Müller's three-volume *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi Sacra et Profana* (Vienna, 1865) which published the ASV's Ottoman documents, and innumerable documents from the archives of the patriarchy in Constantinople; and Karl Hopf's *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes inédits ou peu connues* (Berlin, 1873) with shorter documents, lists, and genealogies pertaining to Italian and Venetian Greece. The most herculean of these efforts were the nine volumes published by Konstantine N. Sathas (Paris, 1880-1890), mostly of documents from the Archivio di Stato and the Biblioteca del Museo Correr of Venice. Sathas included the *dispacci* of Bartolomeo Minio, and the great majority of previously-unpublished Venetian documents relating to the history of Greece.¹¹ By 1890, nearly all Western European documents relating to medieval Greek history were in print, including those used in this dissertation, and little more has come to light since then.

Accounts of Venetian *terre* in Greece usually begin with the Fourth Crusade of 1204, regarding the *stato mar* as a sub-set of the lands acquired by the crusaders in the partition of the Byzantine Empire. Beginning with Jean Alexandre C. Buchon, several such works were written, partly out of interest in crusading ancestors, and partly out of English-German-French-Belgian concern to demonstrate a long and glamorous history that could stand behind their current colonization efforts.¹² These works consistently speak of knights, castles, the tournament of 1305, and the ladies' parliament of 1263, ignoring the resident Greeks, as if the Frankish acquisition of Greece had brought the country all the benefits of Western civilization the way bureaucrats, missionaries, and soldiers were doing in Africa.¹³ All of these works were dependent on Buchon's publication between 1825 and 1846 of the Villehardouin chronicle of the crusade and family papers, the *Chronicle of the Morea*, the results of his researches into Frankish Greece, and his 1840-41 trip to the Morea. However, Venetian bureaucracy and mercantile interests were not consonant with the preferred stories of knights, and little space was given to the Venetians once Villehardouin's account of Doge Dandolo was repeated.¹⁴ At the same time, the search in Western archives and family

¹¹ Crete, the Aegean islands, Epiros, and Thessalonikē are generally treated in different categories, and have widely-differing histories. Greece, for Sathas, was Negroponte, Argos-Nauplion, Methone-Corone-Navarino (Pylos), Naupaktos, and the Ionian Islands.

¹² Examples are E. Carmoly, *Don Joseph Nassev, Duc de Naxos* (Frankfurt, 1868); J. K. Fotheringham, Marco Sanudo, Conqueror of the Archipelago (Oxford, 1915); Rennell Rodd, *The Princes of Achaia and the Chronicles of the Morea* (London, 1907). See also, Adam Hochschild's *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (New York, 1998), or Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*.

¹³ This history that settled Greece with a Duke of Athens and a Prince of Achaia was early mined in literature: Shakespeare's "A Midsummer Night's Dream" shows events surrounding the marriage of the Duke of Athens. Chaucer's "The Knight's Tale" tells of knights and a tournament at Athens. Dante, *Inferno*, VII, has a Duke of Athens.

¹⁴ Western historians continue in this ethnocentric view of medieval Greece, seeing it as an extension of the history of the crusades and making it a fortunate periphery of the West. A recent offender is Robert Bartlett's *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950-1350* (Princeton, 1993). Greeks

papers for documentation brought to light sources valuable for the history of medieval Greece and put in print sources since destroyed in continental wars.

William Miller's *The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greece, 1204-1566* (London, 1908) has provided a useful narrative for subsequent work on Frankish, Latin, and Venetian Greece. Writing after Crete had won freedom from Ottoman rule, but while Thessalonikē and northern Greece were still part of the Empire, Miller had in part the intent of attracting Western attention to the Byronic ideal, while still recognizing that Greeks were not to be conformed to conventional ideas either of Hellenic grandeur or picturesque Mediterranean peasants. Miller made extensive use of Byzantine sources, and gave a sympathetic view of medieval Greeks in an energetic narrative uncluttered by detail or analysis. He was not interested in the specifics of Venetian rule and gave limited space to Venetian Greece generally, but his is still the most useful work with which a newcomer to the field can begin.

A recent book, Peter Lock's, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204-1500* (New York, 1995) pays homage to Miller by paraphrasing his title and following much the same organization, and is by far the best of the general books on medieval Greece.¹⁵ Lock is a historian of Frankish, not Venetian Greece, and out of 337 pages of text allows to Venetian-related topics only twenty-five which must be shared with Genoa. Lock gives a thorough background to Venetian rule, and unlike the conventional 1204 approach, gives recognition to Venice's extensive acquaintance with Greece in the preceding centuries starting with the chrysobull of Alexios I in 1082. This chrysobull, something of a defining historical moment for Venice, gave Venice free trade in the Byzantine Empire, and residential and trading areas in a number of cities, including Nauplion, in exchange for ships against the Normans in southern Italy.¹⁶ Lock's account is chronological and he gives greater importance to the early phase of the Aegean islands and Negroponte (five pages, but this is his particular field

are referred to as "natives" (301), a term banished by anthropologists in the 1950s, while the Franks are celebrating for accomplishing an archbishopric in Constantinople (15), with no recognition that the Greek church has never been absent from Italian soil, or that a Frankish archbishop in Constantinople was effected only by the destruction of the City. However, this book does not consider events after 1350. Bartlett does make a useful contribution by recognizing Latin reproduction in Greece and the Levant of small political units from home (306).

¹⁵ "Latins," however, is a more accurate term than "Franks" for the context in which Lock writes. Byzantines and Greeks used "Latins" to refer to those who used the Latin rite, while using "Franks" to refer to the French and, by extension from the 4th Crusade, to the Germans. The Byzantines held territories in Italy until 1171: Italians were generally called by the names of their cities, and as Byzantium and Venice had never lost contact through their land and sea trade, Greeks and Byzantines called the Venetians "Venetians." Venice was probably never without Greek residents. See Giorgio Fedalto, "La comunità greca a Venezia," in Ghezzi, *Citta e sistema*, especially 205-206.

¹⁶ Those cities and places are: Laodicea, Antioch, Mamistra, Adana, Tarsus, Attalia, Strobilos, Chios, Ephesus, Phoea, Dyracchium, Valona, Corfu, Bonditza, Methone, Corone, Nauplion, Corinth, Thebes, Athens, Negroponte, Demetrias, Thessalonikē, Chrysopolis, Perithorion, Abydos, Redestos, Adrianople, Apros, Heraclea, Selembrina, and Constantinople. Alexios I was a very bright man, and with the exception of Chios (always a wealthy and productive island), Corfu (which he could not reliably patrol), and Negroponte (more realistically a part of the mainland of Attica) allowed Venice no islands, and fewer ports than one might have expected. Lock, however, does not mention the even earlier agreement of 992 in which Basil II gave commercial privileges to the Venetians in exchange for ships to transport soldiers from Epiros to southern Italy to fight Arabs. The treaties with Basil II and Alexios I are published as # 207 and 208 in Deno John Geanakoplos, *Byzantium: Church, Society, and Civilization Seen Through Contemporary Eyes* (Chicago, 1984); Greek texts in Chryssa Maltezou, editor, *Venetiae quasi alterum Byzantium: Opseis tēs Istorias tou Benetocratoumenou Illēnismou Archeiaka Tekmēria*. (Athens, 1993) pp. 101-102, #s 1 and 2. Venice continued the tradition of helping Constantinople with southern Italy, and in 1480 towed Ottoman ships and transported Ottoman soldiers for the attack on Otranto.

of interest) than to the whole period after 1377, which includes Nauplion (one page). He discusses Frankish organization and administration thoroughly, but says nothing about Venetian, referring readers to Freddy Thiriet's *La Romanie vénitienne au moyen âge: le développement et l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien, XIIIe-XVe siècles*.

With the exception of a few essays, primarily by Peter Topping and David Jacoby, Thiriet is almost the only historian to have given serious attention to Venetian rule in Greece.¹⁷ *La Romanie vénitienne* (Paris, 1959), supplemented by his subsequent volumes, *Régestes des délibérations du sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie* (Paris, 3 volumes, 1958-1961) and *Délibérations des assemblées Vénitiennes concernant la Romanie: 1364-1463* (Paris, 2 volumes, 1971), has been up to now the one thorough source of information about Venetian rule in Greece. There are, however, major problems with Thiriet, one of which is that Veneto-Greek history after the Fall of Constantinople gets only twelve pages out of 445. This was a period with important changes, and with comparatively extensive documentation, not just in Senato and Senato Mar registers, but in writings from individuals who played various roles in that history.¹⁸

Thiriet, too, writes out of a cultural background of colonialism and takes for granted a uniformity of structure and process in all territories under Venetian rule.¹⁹ He does not adequately acknowledge or demonstrate the change in rule in any *terra* over time--Venice held Crete from 1210 until 1667, for example; and assumes all rules followed the model of Crete.²⁰ Thiriet also assumes an inflexibility and predetermination in Senato Mar direction of Greek rule that is not sustained by a reading of Minio's *dispacci*, and does not seem to appreciate the vast amount of negotiation required at every level to sustain the *stato mar* which was always governed far more by reaction than by planning.

Thiriet's volumes of *Délibérations* and *Régestes* of the Venetian Senato and Senato Mar provide a digest of documentation in regard to the *stato mar* between 1204 and 1460. Thiriet is inconsistent in his selections, the principles by which he summarizes rather than translates are not clear, the translations and summaries themselves are idiosyncratic and on occasion inaccurate. However, Thiriet's volumes allow a brief overview of *stato mar* issues, are more easily available than the collections by Sathas and, despite the criticisms here, are useful for any study.

¹⁷ See the Bibliography for works by Jacoby and Topping.

¹⁸ Thiriet makes no use of, for example, the two collections of *dispacci* by Bartolomeo Minio for 1479-83 and 1500-01, the *dispacci* of Jacopo Barbarigo for 1465-66, or the *Annali Veneti* of Stefano Magno, all printed in Sathas.

¹⁹ This dissertation will follow the usage of Senato and Senato Mar documents and the various collections of *dispacci*, and will use *terra* and *città* to refer to subject territories in the *stato mar*. See, for example, Senato Mar R. 6, f 139v for 3 December 1463, "civitatum marorum Mothoni Crom et Neapollie romanie." "Terre Neapolis Romanie," for example, occurs several times in the Nauplion will of 1405. ASV Atti notai, B. 24/2: Testamento de Johannes Cavaza. The use of "colony" and its various derivatives is problematic, involving exhausting work with angels and pin heads, and carries assumptions and presuppositions of exploitation and domination which, while marginally accurate, obliterate the possibility of considering fifteenth-century assumptions of governance. If "colony" is used for Nauplion and Methone, it also has to be used for Lido, Padua, Dubrovnik, Ravenna, and Torcello--a usage to which I suspect few would consent. I have not found the use of "colony" in Venetian documents until after 1580, and then in reference to Crete which was, in fact, Venice's only colony. I suspect, without evidence, that the use of the term then was prompted by its use for the Portuguese-Spanish-English settlements in the New World and West Africa. See, for example, Maltezos, *Venetiae*, 247 #29, "delle Colonie," for 17 April 1589.

²⁰ Thiriet must receive some of the credit, or blame, for this dissertation, as I started my original research because he did not answer any of the questions I had for Nauplion.

A brief source of documentary history for Nauplion is G. S. Ploumides, “Eidēseis dia to venetokratoumenon Nauplion 1440-1540,” *Peloponnesiaka* 8 (1971) 261-275, with brief summaries (in Greek) of Venetian legislation relating to the occupation of Nauplion. His selections from the Senato Mar and Secreta registers do not duplicate material in Sathas or Thiriet.²¹

* * * * *

Peace did not occur because a *‘ahd-name* passed from Constantinople to Venice: peace had to be willed and enacted and reworked almost daily over successive years in the Greek and Albanian cities of the *stato mar* by individuals of varying abilities in the face of volatile populations. Minio as *provveditor e capitano* was responsible for making secure the peace at Nauplion, called Napoli da Romania to distinguish it from the Napoli of Italy, and to that end was involved in four different negotiations over territorial boundaries, a Moreote-wide revolt, and a constant, shifting, struggle with the systemic infection of corsairs by land and sea.²²

As all *provveditori* were required to do, he wrote *dispacci* reporting on his work and problems to the Signoria and Captain General of the Fleet. Eighty-four of these *dispacci* are preserved in a collector’s copy in Venice.²³ The first *dispaccio* is dated 12 November 1479, and the last 25 March 1483.

For other published survivals with which these *dispacci* can be compared and against which they can be checked, there is a group of end-of-term reports made by three

²¹ G. S. Ploumides. “Eidēseis dia to Venetokratoumenon Nauplion (1440-1540),” in *Peloponnesiaka* 8 (1971) 261-275. Ploumides and Thiriet both have to be used with the awareness that they have “corrected” dates without warning, although with consistency, a tendency that is a problem with most writers and one which makes it unnecessarily difficult to work out chronologies on occasion.

²² The Byzantine-Greek use of *κουράρος* usually meant bandits by land rather than pirates by sea, unlike expectations of “corsair.”

²³ Biblioteca del Museo Civico Correr, Codici Cicogna 2653: “Dispacci ai senato e ad altri di Ser Bortolomeo Minio,” published in volume six of Konstantine N. Sathas’ *Mnēmeia Ellēnikēs Istorias: Documents inédites relatifs à l’histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge* (Paris, 1880-1890). All references to the *dispacci* here will be made to both the manuscript and the printed edition, e.g., f 1 and 117. The paperbound manuscript of the *dispacci*, 21½ cm x 31 cm, consists of sixty-nine consecutive folios in faded brown ink written by at least four hands, three of them extremely difficult to read. For the most part, it is written with hanging paragraphs, wide left margins, and 25-26 lines on a page. The writing appears to be at least a third-generation copy of the mid-sixteenth century. One writer tended to ignore paragraphs and margins, and squeezed as many as 39 lines on a page. In both the manuscript and the Sathas transcription, each *dispaccio* begins where the previous ended. Certain *dispacci* were copied out of date order: those of 1 April 1480 (ff 9v-10r); 6 February 1480 (ff 23v-25r); 20 May 1481 (ff 34v-35r); and four of 8 October 1481 (ff 42r-43r), suggesting that the original transcription was made as *dispacci* arrived. The manuscript formerly belonged to the collection of Giovanni Sandominico Tiepolo who also owned *dispacci* of Marco Minio, Bartolomeo’s son, ambassador to the Pope and to Constantinople. Bankruptcy in 1830 brought the Tiepolo collection on the market, where much of it was purchased by the Museo Correr. The manuscript of the *dispacci* was brought to light in the early 1840s by the English scholar of Venetian archives, Rawdon Brown, who lived in Ca’ Dario, home of Zuam Dario who has an important present in Minio’s *dispacci*. On the first page the manuscript is identified as “Dispacci al senato e ad altri di ser Bortolomeo Minio Provveditor e Capitaneo a Napoli di Romania dal MCCCCLXXIX al MCCCCLXXXIII” and brief biographical note by Emmanuel Cicogna, dated 1843. On the reverse of the first page is a note by historian Karl D. Hopf: “Dispacci d’un grand interesse per la relazione dei Turchi coi ultimi possedimenti Veneti nella Morea che ben meriterrebero la stampa,” dated 11 July 1854. Hopf left marks by items with Turkish-related content.

governors from Nauplion in 1525, 1527, and 1531.²⁴ In addition to the *dispacci* and financial reports required from the field, governors were required to write summary reports and recommendations within a year after leaving a post: few such survivals have as yet been identified before the late seventeenth century.²⁵ These three- and four-page summaries, *relationes*, give basic information of a nature that Minio does not: specific population numbers and changes, comments about the Nauplion *consiglio*, tax accounts. Each governor faced in his turn many of the same crises that made Minio's life so difficult, but the origin of the *relationes* in retrospection, their brevity, and purpose preclude their giving the information for which the *dispacci* are distinctive: the day-by-day tracking of issues and crises, the arrivals and departures of soldiers and ships and officials, the periodic inspections and issuances of pay (or failures to pay), the development of relationships. In addition, because the *dispacci* cover some forty-two consecutive months, they make it possible to track the relationship between seasons and events.²⁶

Jacomo Barbarigo's *dispacci* written in 1465 and 1466 provide a useful check and corroboration for the Minio *dispacci*.²⁷ Barbarigo, *provveditor* for the Morea during one year of the 1463-1479 war, sent reports of which eighty-seven have survived, dated from June 1465 through late March 1466. These are primarily concerned with the same issues of administration and *stratiote* bands as Minio faced, although within the context of a losing war. Barbarigo was not nearly so dismayed as Minio by the rough behavior of the Greek and Albanian *stratioti*, and he frequently mentioned the Kladas brothers with admiration. Barbarigo's *dispacci* make it clear that Minio's constant problems of inadequate food and pay for the *stratioti* had been matter-of-course for more than a generation. Barbarigo's frustration with the Signoria's conduct of the war early reached its limits and he wrote:

I have decided not to stay here, and I request the Signoria to give me permission to return home as soon as possible. I do not choose that the future will ever be able to say, 'In the time of Jacomo Barbarigo, the Morea was lost!'²⁸

One of the most valuable of all Venetian chronicles for the later fifteenth century is the *Annali veneti* of Stefano Magno. Sathas has excerpted passages relating to Greek events, which makes for an efficient supplement to Minio's *dispacci*. Although not a contemporary of the events he recorded, Magno was a contemporary of Minio's sons and

²⁴ *Relationes Provisorum*, Sathas VI, 244-254: Nicolò Justiniani, elected 6 July 1522, reported August 1525; Bernardo Contarini, elected 1524, reported 4 June 1527; Vittorio Diedo, elected 16 July 1527, reported 1531. Dates of election are from Hopf, 384, but his dates are not reliable, for example: by Diedo's own account he arrived in Nauplion on 27 November 1529 and handed over responsibilities to his successor on 26 November 1531. Sathas also prints *Relationes* from *rettori* of Zakythinos and Kefalonia at the same period.

²⁵ Sathas I, 284.27-28 for instructions to that effect.

²⁶ When the *dispacci* are plotted on a calendar, slight trends are evident: pirate attacks intensified in the fall, particularly the fall after Mehmed II died; reports of Ottoman troop movements appear primarily in early summer; hunger becomes an issue in the winter and persists through until mid-summer; reports of hunger dwindle away when large numbers of *stratioti* are removed to fight at Friuli and Ferrara.

²⁷ Jacomo Barbarigo, *Dispacci della guerra de Peloponneso, 1465-1466*, Sathas VI, 1-92, indicated as "MS della Biblioteca Municipale Magnani de Bologna." Unfortunately, this work has never been studied in its own regard. In August 1466, Barbarigo was captured outside of Patras in an Ottoman attack and impaled. "Discorso di Teodoro Spandugino Cantacusino," Sathas VI.101. Jacomo (Giacomo) q. Andrea q. Zuanne, *Arbori* I.2.181.

²⁸ Barbarigo, 57.10-13: "deliberaro de no starce, et supplico la suo Signoria se degni concedermi licentia de repatriar quam primum, perche non delibero che in futurum mai se posa dire: in tempo de Jacomo Barbarigo se perse la Morea."

used primary sources, many of which can be identified. He paraphrases and sometimes quotes the *dispacci*, and records of various councils, and often adds further information or explanation from other officials not available to Minio, or the date on which a report was read in the Signoria. Magno's primary value here is that he provides a context for Minio's circumstances within all the other foreign matters with which the Senato was dealing.²⁹ Additionally, his use of the *dispacci* gives a basis for judging his use of other sources.

A document titled *Commission Magnifici et generosi domini Francisci Bragadeno honorabilis castellani et provisori Mothoni*, the commission given Francesco Bragadin when he went to Methone in 1485, contains twenty-three pages of instructions for a *provveditor*. Because so much of its phrasing is duplicated in Minio's earlier *dispacci* and in the *relationes*, it is evident that certain general instructions were given all *rettori*, with specific guidance tailored to each city.³⁰ Thus, for example, it becomes clear that what might otherwise be read as a complaining tone in Minio's first *dispaccio* is a response to the requirement that a *provveditor* report the condition in which he found food stores and defense on his arrival.³¹

Further information concerning the Venetian rule of Nauplion and the *stato mar*, even though it begins 15 years after the period of 1479-1483 under consideration here, is to be found in the incomparable volumes of Marino Sanudo's *Diarii*.³² Not only do the *Diarii* include much information, and material that can be used to fill in missing pieces of the topographical puzzle, but reports from individual officials frequently refer to earlier officials and legislation, or offer explanations for older material and decisions.

For the most part, other published primary sources provide only fragmentary confirmation and small supplementary details to add to the material found in Sathas. The Chrysostomides documents include a number of commissions for *rettori* in the *stato mar* which clarify details in the *dispacci*.³³ Bombaci's "Nuovi firmani greci di Maometto II," transcriptions of several Ottoman documents in the Archivio di Stato, expands the collection of letters and treaties printed in Miklosich & Müller, gives more of the Ottoman side of conversations over the dividing lines and the Kladas uprising, and names for the individuals recorded by Minio as "the Paşa" or "the Paşa Eunuch."³⁴ Otherwise, little has yet been made available from the voluminous Ottoman archives in Istanbul.

²⁹ BCMV Codici Cicogna 3532-3533: *Annali Veneti de Stefano Magno*. Published as: Stefano Magno, *Évenements historiques en Grèce, 1479-1497*, Sathas VI, 214-236. Setton, II, 329n50 identifies him as Stefano Magno, qu. Andrea (1499-1572). Sathas has abstracted Greek-related material and presents it as a continuous manuscript, giving a misleading impression of interest in the Morea, where in actuality the material occupies occasional folios scattered over two volumes of Magno's holograph chronicle.

³⁰ ASV Commissioni Rettori, b 3/52: *Commissio Magnifici et generosi domini Francisci Bragadeno honorabilis castellani et provisori Mothoni*. Published in Sathas I, 283-306.

³¹ Sathas I, 302.14-16.

³² Marino Sanudo (1466-1535). *Diarii*. R. Fuldini, F. Stefani, N. Barozzi, G. Bechet, and M. Allegri, editors (Venice, 58 volumes, 1879-1902; reprinted Bologna, 1969).

³³ Julian Chrysostomides, editor. *Monumenta Peloponnesiaca: Documents for the History of the Peloponnese in the 14th and 15th centuries* (Athens, 1995).

³⁴ A. Bombaci, "Nuovi firmani greci di Maometto II," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 47(1954) 298-319, published and translated documents selected from ASV Atti diplomatici e privati, b 45: Liber Graecus; ASV Documenti Turchi, b 1: and ASV Libri Commemorativi, R 16. Between Bombaci and Franz Miklosich and Ioseph Müller, editors, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi Sacra et Profana*. Vol. 3: *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Res Graecas Italasque Illustrantia* (Vienna, 1865) the Ottoman documents for the fifteenth century are readily available.

Direct reports from the Greek side are almost nonexistent, but the later history attributed to the seventeenth-century Dorotheos of Monemvasia gives a favorable view of Venetian rule and provides remarkable confirmation of one of Minio's specific comments.³⁵ The anonymous Codex Barbarinus Graecus III, also from the seventeenth-century, and the Byzantine *Short Chronicles* supply valuable topographical information for Nauplion.³⁶ The entries in the *Short Chronicles* are so short as to be almost humorous: τὸ αὐτὸ ἔτος ἐπολέμησε ὁ Σελῆμ μπασιάς τὴν Ῥόδον καὶ δὲν τὴν ἐπῆρε: "That year [1480] Selim Paşa attacked Rhodes and did not take it." However, some of the *Short Chronicles* used here were written in the Morea, and even in the Argolid, and indicate what Greek contemporaries considered worth recording at the time. This makes them particularly significant where the Kladas affair is concerned.³⁷

The Kladas affair was best covered by the *dispacci* and *Magno*, along with actions and reports included in the Secreta Register 29 for 1479-80. Information on the Krokondēlos and Kladas families has to be pieced together from single sentences and phrases from the French version of the fourteenth-century *Chronicle of the Morea*³⁸; fifteenth-century Buondelmonti, Phrantzes' *Chronica*, Mazaris' *Journey to Hades*, and *The Letters of Manuel II Paleologos*; and *L'État de la Grèce en 1533*.³⁹ Additional information comes from three inscriptions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries published by Nikos Beēs, G. Stamirēs, Miklosich & Müller, and Denis Feissel and Anne Philippides-Brant.⁴⁰ Finally, the tiny pamphlet published by a Kladas descendent, which collects (with inaccurate transcriptions and wildly arbitrary citations) Kladas items in the Venetian archives, contains the sole account of Kladas' death, written by his grandson.⁴¹ This pamphlet, and the various *dispacci* of Barbarigo and Minio, *Magno*'s notes, and rulings by the Signoria about *stratioti*--all printed in Sathas--appear to be the sources for all subsequent Greek writing on the Kladaïoti.

³⁵ Dorotheos of Monemvasia, *Biblion Historikon*, Hopf, 237-239. See Chapter One, page 56 and n186.

³⁶ *Die Byzantinische Kleinchroniken*. 3 Volumes. CFHB 12. Peter Schreiner, editor (Vienna, 1975-79). *Codex Barbarinus Graecus III* is available in English in *Byzantium, Europe, and the Early Ottoman Sultans, 1373-75: An Anonymous Greek Chronicle of the Seventeenth Century: Codex Barbarinus Graecus III*, Marios Philippides, editor and translator (New Rochelle, NY, 1990); and in Greek *Chronikon peri tōn tourkōn soultanōn*, Georgios Th. Zoras, editor (Athens, 1958). I do not believe that these sources have previously been brought together with Minio and the Sanudo references to examine the topography of Nauplion.

³⁷ *Short Chronicles* 518, #10 for May 23-July 28, 1480.

³⁸ *Chronique de Morée: Livre de la conquête de la princée de l'Amorée, 1204-1305*. Jean Longnon, editor (Paris, 1949).

³⁹ Christoforo Buondelmonti. *Description des Îsles de l'Archipel Grec (1417-1422)*. Edited by Émile Legrand (Amsterdam, 1974). Georgius Phrantzes. *Cronaca*. Riccardo Maisano, editor (Rome, 1990). Also, *Memorii, 1401-1477*, In anexă, *Pseudo-Phrantzes: Macarie Melissenos Cronica, 1258-1481*. Volume 5, *Scriptores Byzantini*, Vasile Grecu, editor (Bucharest, 1966). *Mazaris' Journey to Hades*. Seminar Classics 609 (SUNY-Buffalo, 1975). *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus*. CFHB 8, George T. Dennis, editor and translator (Washington, DC, 1997). *L'État de la Grèce en 1533*, in Sathas VI, 313-317. Marciana Miscellanea No. 2088, CXCVI, ff. 74-79. See Appendix 8.

⁴⁰ Nikos Beēs. "Diorthoseis kai paratērēseis: eis aferotērion tou 1375 etous pros tēn en Mystra monētēs Panagias tou Brontochiou," *Nea Sion* 5-6 (1907) 242-248. G. A. Stamirēs, "Ἐ ἐπιγραφῇ tou Krokontylou," *Peloponnesiaka* 3-4 (1958-1959) 84-86. Franz Miklosich and Ioseph Müller, editors, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi Sacra et Profana*. Vol.1 *Acta Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani* (Vienna, 1865). Denis Feissel, and Anne Philippidis-Braat. "Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance." III. Inscriptions du Péloponnèse, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 353-354.

⁴¹ [Count Giannis Kladas] *Archaia Istorika Gekonota tēs Oikogeneias tōn Komētōn Kladaïōn apo ta 1366 mechri 1803* (Athens, 1872).

The Sathas indexes, while somewhat arbitrary, have been sifted for references on specific issues, particularly by Kenneth M. Setton, and Michael Jameson et al., but these volumes have seldom, if ever, been seriously regarded for the abundant chronological documentary information they have to offer for Venetian rule in Greece for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It has been an article of faith that Sathas is unreliable. This may be, in part, because Sathas used students to transcribe documents which has been assumed to have resulted in an erratic overall consistency. However, a close reading of the miserably illegible manuscript of the *dispacci* and comparison of it with the printed edition suggests a high level of accuracy in transcription with most discrepancies being of a trivial nature, such as *dela* changed to *de la* or *luocho* to *luogo*. Sathas modernized the nearly non-existent punctuation and capitalized proper names. Where words have been added or omitted, these do not affect the sense. The most important way in which Sathas might appear misleading is in his Senato documents covering the Kladas affair which appear extensive but which reprint only about half of the material in the register of Senato deliberations, *Secreta R.* 29 for 1479-1480.⁴²

Where other unpublished documents are concerned, there are of course the abundant collections in the various Venetian archives, particularly in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia beginning with the registers for the Senato and the Senato Mar. The convenience of Sathas, Ploumides, and Thiriet is no substitute for the sense of context and process provided by the state records themselves, and not the least of that is the perception of what was frozen in writing and what transpired without officially-recorded directives. The *Liber Graecus* and *Commemoriali* give an intimate sense of the time--and shows that the Greek script written by Venetian secretaries was more elegant than that of Ottoman *katibs* (scribes). Zuam Dario is more vivid a personality in the clear script and plain language of his *dispacci* and his handwritten will which provides first for “Chiara mia” than he is even in Minio’s comments and Bellini’s portrait.⁴³ Accounts of prosecutions of *rettori*--rape, embezzlement, swindling, horse trading, abandonment of post--clarify routine descriptions of Venetian justice and instructions in *commissioni* and give broader perspective to the facts of life in the *stato mar*.⁴⁴ Family records and *Arbori* make it possible to understand tensions in individual lives where officials in the *stato mar* had to miss a son’s coming-of-age ceremony or wait for six months to learn about a wife’s illness; where a *rettor* was holding too minor a position at too advanced an age; or where a young captain could be arrogant because his family’s status and wealth made him nearly untouchable.⁴⁵

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Bartolomeo Minio was elected *rettor* and *capitaneo* in February 1479[78].⁴⁶ As his first letter reported, he got as far as Methone in September. He did not arrive in Nauplion

⁴² Sathas culled and published many but not all references to mainland Greek cities and the Ionian islands. Any particular city needs to be tracked through the *Secreta* and *Senato Mar* registers.

⁴³ ASV Atti diplomatici e privati, b 45/1324, *Liber Graecus*. Zuam Dario’s wills ASV Atti notai, Testamenti, b 1066/71 and 1066/80; and b 1183/248: Testamento de Zuam Dario. Chiara was his companion and mother of his daughter Marietta. Bellini’s portrait of Zuam Dario: in “Procession in Piazza S. Marco” in Room 20 of the Accademia. See Chapter Three.

⁴⁴ *Stato da Mar R.* 10, ff 170r-181v for 1474-1478.

⁴⁵ ASV Misc. Codici, S. I: Storia veneta, m 17-23. *Mario Barbaro: Arbori de patritii veneti*.

⁴⁶ *Senato Mar R.* 11, 12v. Although directed to leave within eight days or pay a fine of 1000 ducats, he

until 8 November as Venetian shipping was either suspended or on war alert because of the Ottoman attack on the Ionian Islands. The previous *rettor* of Nauplion, Christofor de Priuli, had died before the end of his term, and Leonardo Diedo, *capitaneo* of Corone, was transferred to Nauplion until Minio arrived.⁴⁷

Bartolomeo was in early middle-age when he began the Nauplion assignment, the usual age for a *provveditor* in the *stato da mar*. His early experience had included a term in Corfu as *consiliere*. He had a tendency to migraines (“io in letto da doglia de testa”), and an aching neck.⁴⁸ Perhaps marked by the early loss of his mother, he was a lonely man, writing of himself as “essendo solo rector,” rarely mentioning officials other than those who came by galley for brief stays, never mentioning the name of the assistant on whom he relied the most, the *cancellier* for whom he fought a long and tiring battle with Venetian bureaucracy. In the final *dispaccio* of 25 March 1483, he mentions “nui suo Rectori” and “nui suo proveditori:” these may be rhetorical flourishes, unless he is including two (otherwise unmentioned) councillors in those references. Five years later, there were at least thirteen officials appointed to Nauplion in addition to the *provveditor*, and Minio certainly had several of these with him, but this could not be deduced from the *dispacci*.⁴⁹ His wife’s brother, “mio cognado Piero Trevisan,” commanded a light galley and came to Nauplion several times on assignment. Trevisan was somewhat younger than Minio, apparently close in age to Elena. When Trevisan once failed to appear when expected, Minio wrote bitterly to the Captain General:

Your Magnificence writes that you are sending Piero Trevisan, my brother-in-law, here with the galley for the construction; you could not send this gentleman, because of happenings there at the last minute, but you will hurry and send him as soon as possible.⁵⁰

He looked forward to Trevisan’s visits, and in the *dispacci* emphasized their relationship--*mio cognado*--insisting on it in what he perceived as the blank face of Venetian bureaucracy. As official papers, the *dispacci* give no suggestion as to what non-official correspondence he might have had. He clearly felt isolated “in questo terra in luogo remoto,” felt his work unrecognized, his letters unanswered, and his needs for money, food

apparently did not leave until late summer. See Appendix 2 for this act from the *Senato*, summarized in Ploumides, 265. Hopf, xxxviii and 384, citing a “Seri di tolti i reggimenti Veneti” in Universi, Série II, “Indice antico intrantium regimen, 1440-1490,” with a list of “Rettori di Nauplia e d’Argos,” gives the name as “Bertuccio Minio q. Marco (el. nel luglio).” M. G. Lamprynides, *Ē Nauplia* (Athens, 1895 and 1950) 85, has used Hopf’s list and transcribed the name as Βερζούκιος Μίνιος. Elsewhere (72), Lamprynides refers to him as Μίμης Βόρτολης.

⁴⁷ Appointments were for two years: “In quo quidem regimine stare debeas per duos annos,” Sathas I, 284.1. Magno 214.17 and Hopf, 384, both name Priuli as Minio’s predecessor, although Minio himself wrote “miser Lunardo Diedo mio precessor.” f 1r and 117.3. Methone and Corone were governed in tandem with a captain and a *rettor* for each, so transferring someone from there was an easy solution. Until the capture of Argos in 1464, Nauplion and Argos had been governed under a similar arrangement. See Appendix 2 for Minio’s appointment.

⁴⁸ Migraines: *Dispacci*, f 34v and 164.26; f 67r and 210.33. Aching: *Dispacci*, f 53r and 192.2; f 55r and 194.16; f 57v and 197.31.

⁴⁹ Sathas V, 191 for 5 September 1485.

⁵⁰ *Dispacci* f 27r and 153.4-7 for 12 February 1480: “La V.a M.a me scrive haver deputado la galia Piero Trevisan, mio cognado, a questo luocho per il bisogna de le fabriche, il quale misser, per le cosse occurente de li, infina ora non l’ha possuto mandar, ma quamprimum sera arquato expedira et mandara.” See also: *Dispacci* f 33v and 162.37; f 37v and 169.19; f 38v and 170.9; f 47r and 184.4. In each of these the phrase, “Miser Piero, mio cognado,” is repeated. Trevisan was charged with transporting the families of the Kladas and Bua rebels (see Chapter Four) to safe-keeping in Venice and Corfu. Magno, 223, 228.

and supplies ignored.⁵¹ He did not consider that the unanswered letters were an indication that he was actually doing the right thing, and that there was nothing more to say.⁵² Grateful to those whose faces he could see, he treasured a few friendships and wrote warmly of *contestabele* Antonio Marinato and of an Ottoman flamburar with whom he had developed a deep sympathy. He does not seem to have had particular friends among local Venetians: normal relationships would not have been a subject for official *dispacci*. It is possible that there was a model for the partial social isolation of *rettori*, as there was for the doge.⁵³ Early on he developed a mutual antagonism with *miser* Iosepho Lion, Nauplion's *camerlengo*, who sided with soldiers who had "fatto una risa" against him.⁵⁴ When complimented for his

⁵¹ Given his loneliness and sense of isolation, it is interesting to track Bartolomeo and his sons in public life through Sanudo's *Diarii* and see how frequently they are mentioned as acting together. In September 1511, Bartolomeo, Marco and Francesco were all members of the *Collegio*: Bartolomeo as *consiere* for San Polo, Francesco as one of the *savii ai ordini*, and Marco as an *avogador di commun*. Marco and Bartolomeo counted the votes for a crucial vote concerning reducing the size of the Grand Council. Sanudo 12.270-271, 610. Marco, aged about 61, took Francesco, aged about 39, on his staff when he went to Constantinople as *orator*. In a letter to Alvise of 31 October 1521 he complained that he hadn't heard any news since August. Sanudo, V. 30.255-256. As Doge of Crete between February 1522[23] and November 1524, Marco sent back many of his formal reports as letters to his brothers, and Sanudo thought it worth mentioning that he wrote them privately. When leaving Crete, Marco sailed to Venice on Francesco's ship, *Dolfina*, a charter vessel for pilgrimages to *Hierusalem*. They ran into a storm so severe that the *pelegrini* threw the casks of *malvasia* overboard; once past that, they were chased by several Turkish pirate *fuste* in the Adriatic. Sanudo, V. 37.137. It would, of course, be useful to look at other families over a number of years before relying too heavily on these incidents, but on first reading they do suggest a level of intentionality in relationships. It was, however, not uncommon for several members of the same family to be in significant positions at the same time. Robert Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice* (Rutgers, 1980) 85.

⁵² There is, in fact, evidence that Minio's perception of unanswered letters was fairly accurate. The Secreta Registers 28-29 for the years 1479-1483 record no letters sent specifically to the *Regimini Napoli*. There are rare letters to the *Regimini Mothoni* and *Regimini Coroni*, and one jointly to the regimens of some twelve overseas cities, but while letters from the *provveditor* of Nauplion--*stato mar* officials are always mentioned by title, almost never by name--are mentioned, there is none recorded to him. On the other hand, Register 11 of the Senato Mar, which covers the full period Minio was in Nauplion, records at least three specific actions which it says are responses to the *rettor* of Nauplion: ff 68r, 125v, 137v. In fact, to judge from Register 11, the Stato Mar paid more attention to Minio than to other *rettori*. The records appear inconsistent. None of the letters Minio mentions receiving from Venice appears in the Senato Mar registers. It is clear there was a mechanism for deciding which matters were determined in the Senato Mar as a body and who had responsibility for individual correspondence: it is not clear what the mechanism was. Jacopo Barbarigo was constantly frustrated by the lack of response and information from Venice when he was trying to manage the war. He reported having to pacify "Sigismondus" (*condottiere* Sigismondo Maletesta) "quod tot litterras . . . scripserit, quod nullam responsionem habuerit." Six months later, he wrote: "Da setembre in qua ho scripto . . . piu de 40 letere, molte dele sono importantissimi . . . dala qual fin hora de alcuna de quelle non ho havuto risposts." Barbarigo 2.25; 74.28-3. Senato Mar Registers 7 and 8 for the same period show the Senato Mar micro-managing the war and doing it badly.

⁵³ See, for example, Lauro Martines, *Power and Imagination: City-States in Renaissance Italy* (New York, 1979) 122, discussing the thirteenth-century Florentine Brunetto Latini: "In one respect the entire treatise 'On the Government of Cities' is a plea against one-man rule, for it hedges the podestà in with an imposing list of admonitions: . . . don't make friends; don't have personal contacts; don't be indebted to anyone in the comune." James S. Grubb, *Firstborn of Venice: Vicenza in the Early Renaissance State* (Baltimore, 1988) 51, writing of rule in the *terrafirma*: "Local norms defined the actual operation of Venetian administrators. The commissions issued by central councils regulated salaries, fees, personal conduct (no dining with citizens, no leaving town without permission) and staff hiring."

⁵⁴ *Dispacci* f 17r and 139.41-140.3 for 14 June 1480.

successful negotiations with Turkish officials in which he risked losing face to prevent war, his appreciation to the Signoria is disproportionate.⁵⁵

Certain phrases appear frequently in the *dispacci*, which suggest something of his personality, or his fatigue. Constantly in need of money, of grain for the troops, of workmen, of materiel, he writes over and over about that nothing can be done: “non se pol far senza . . . senza nulla se pol far . . . senza il qual non se pol lavorar.” His despair and frustration are palpable, his pessimism disturbing when placed against the real significance of what he actually accomplished in Nauplion. His record was quoted long after his death. When making a report, as was his duty, convinced the Signoria would either ignore his existence or else make his life more difficult, he wrote: “Your Excellency will most wisely dispose as you please.”⁵⁶

* * * * *

The following chapters discuss Bartolomeo Minio's administration in Nauplion and the issues he reported as Venetian *provveditor* and captain of a city in the *stato mar*. The first chapter attempts to reconstruct the topography and appearance of fifteenth-century Nauplion, using contemporary chronicles and early maps in conjunction with the appearance of the modern city. This may seem an obvious approach but it appears to be the first such reconstruction beyond that of fortification walls, and the first time these particular chronicles and maps have been used together.⁵⁷ The chapter then sketches the various populations and the few individuals identifiable in Nauplion for the period. After an examination of the forms and officials of the Nauplion *comunità* and how they related to the government for the *stato mar*, it looks at Minio's *dispacci* reporting the physical defense of the city, his efforts at building new walls, at the lack of supplies and personnel for the specified work, and the arbitrariness of the Venetian response. After the slaughter at Negroponte, with Ottoman forces ravaging Otranto and besieging Rhodes, Venice had made major expenditures to extend the fortifications at Corfu and Methone, but seemed unwilling to do more than the minimum to secure Nauplion's safety, despite its recorded enthusiasm for the importance of the site. Minio and his predecessor had plans for Nauplion--not completed for another twenty years--which determined the appearance of the modern city, much of it built, like Venice, on pilings in a marsh.

The second chapter looks at the world of the *stratioti*--the Greek, Albanian, and Epirote mercenaries--and Italian *fanti* on whom defense depended. Venice was criminally negligent in forwarding their pay, which came both in cash and in food, and on more than one occasion, they rioted or threatened revolt; on other occasions they simply levanted, leaving Nauplion without defense. The mutual vulnerability and hostility of the relationship between Venice and the *stratioti* is shown clearly in these reports, and while much has been written about Venice and her mercenaries in the *terrafirma*, no previous work has been done on the very different situation in relation to mercenaries in the *terra mar*. There is much documentary material and sentimental glorification available on these mercenaries

⁵⁵ *Dispacci* f 13 and 135 for 29 April 1480; f 42 and 176.20-36 for 3 October 1481.

⁵⁶ *Dispacci* f 11r and 131.16-17; f 14v and 136.17: “Vostra Excelentia quella sapientissima dispona come gli piace.”

⁵⁷ An earlier but limited reconstruction is found in Wulf Schaefer, “Neue Untersuchungen über die Baugeschichte Nauplias im Mittelalter,” *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 76 (1961) 156-214.

who have had little scholarly consideration in their own right.⁵⁸ Beyond the details of administration, Minio's accounts of food supplies, desperation and starvation, land grants, and taxes, give an unparalleled study of the realities of life in Greece, and allow reconstruction of individual personalities and histories. Minio's sympathy toward the *stratioti* increased even while he was upset by their disorder, and he interceded more and more with the Signoria on their behalf.

The third chapter explores Mino's relationships with the Ottomans, which is tracked in the various negotiations involved with the Ottoman occupation of the Morea and the territorial boundaries along with Zuam Dario. In these negotiations, the Ottoman attitude toward the Morea and cooperation with local Venetian *rettori* turned out to be unexpectedly amicable, and show that the real conflict was not between Ottomans and Venetians, but between Ottoman and Venetian order, and the percentage of the population that was outside its control.

The development of Minio's skills and self-confidence toward the Ottomans can be observed across the *dispacci* so that where he was inept and failed in his first negotiation through sheer anxiety, after three years, Ottoman officials thought so well of him that they made numerous concessions for his convenience, hoping for Venetian cooperation against their own administration. As with the *stratioti*, his own understanding and regard for the Ottomans deepened over time. Minio also had the problem of harassment and destruction in the areas under his control from piracy based in Ottoman-held territories, and had the satisfaction of getting an Ottoman governor recalled by writing a letter directly to the Sultan--and two Sultans wrote him. Although it is customary to think of Venetian administration as one of strong centralized control, Minio's reports show that he was free to write the Sultan or anyone else as he found appropriate, and that problems might be worked out between Ottoman and Venetian governors independently of the home office, and results reported as *faits accomplis*--complimented when they worked, strongly criticized when they did not.

Where the peace settlements and various territorial discussions are concerned, there is abundant documentation in the Venetian archives from Venetian and some Ottoman sources, and accounts by the other leading participants which add substance to Minio's reports and allow confidence in the reliability of his reporting. They have the additional interest of showing how coherent were the expressed attitudes and intent of Venetian officials: disagreement and criticism barely appear in the preserved records. This contrasts strongly with the picture Minio gives of Ottoman administration where splits within the ruling family are played out among territorial governors, and where governors following the orders of one sultan could be executed by the next for doing so.

The final chapter discusses the Kladas uprising, particularly as it affected Minio and the troops in Nauplion. The Kladaïoti were Greek-Albanian mercenaries led by Krokondēlos Kladas, a knight honored for his service to Venice, who, after what he perceived as Venetian betrayal with the treaty of 1478[79], led an uprising in the Morea against the Ottomans who responded with 6000 cavalry, and 10,000 infantry, and set the stage for disaster. This uprising, a unilateral declaration of war by an undetermined number of *stratioti* against Venetian insult and Ottoman occupation, was one of a series of revolts

⁵⁸ This situation is changing. See Chapter Two, n19. One reason for such new-found interest in the *stratioti* is the very limited number of sources for any information about Greeks in the Morea in the post-Byzantine period.

in the Morea in which Albanians played a prominent role, and has been claimed to be an essential element in the formation of Moreote identity, and even that of modern Greece.⁵⁹

When Kladas left the country, rebellion became banditry. Venetian and Ottoman officials who recognized their mutual interests were nearly helpless in doing anything about the armed bands who travelled the mountains by night, making guerilla raids on Ottoman landowners, supported by peasants and villagers across the country. Minio and the Ottoman governor of the Morea negotiated a three-way settlement, using relatives of the rebels to transmit messages. Minio was persuaded by the Ottoman governor to persuade the Signoria to make major concessions, and thereby guaranteed Venetian possession for another generation, obtained troops for use in the *terrafirma*, and prevented disaster for Venice and the Morea.

Given the high rate of survival of *dispacci*, it appears that Minio did not ordinarily report to the Signoria when affairs were proceeding normally or well. Once he said as much: “I have not written Your Excellency about things in the Morea, because with the peace, things are going quietly and peacefully” (“De la cosse de questa Morea non ho scripto a V. El., pero che per a pace le cosse passavano quiete et pacifiche”).⁶⁰ It is impossible to know whether, in some of these seemingly crisis-free blocks of time, no ships by which a letter might be sent stopped at Nauplion, or if *dispacci* are missing. That the months of October, December and February are the months with the largest total numbers of letters sent suggests that, whatever the frequency of ships, there was substantial year-round sailing.

* * * * *

The Minio family was an old one in Venice with several branches: their records begin with a Paolo Minio who moved to Rialto in 904.⁶¹ Minios were listed in the Great Council in the 1290s, held numerous offices in the 1300s, and were counted in the *estimo* of 1379.⁶² Nine members of the family are listed in Hopf’s catalogues of governors for Greece and the islands.⁶³

⁵⁹ Because the Kladas uprising is one of the very few documented incidents in Moreote history between 1453 and 1821, and because it was anti-Turkish (and anti-Venetian), it has had to bear a weight of significance disproportionate to its results, and certainly disproportionate to the attention Moreote Greeks appear to have given it at the time.

⁶⁰ *Dispacci* f 3v and 121.13-14 for 29 January 1479[80]: “De la cosse de questa Morea non ho scripto a V. El., pero che per a pace le cosse passavano quiete et pacifiche.”

⁶¹ ASV *Misc. Codici*, s. I: storia veneta, m. 17-23: Marco Barboro, *Arbori di patritii veneti*, V.22.143. Vittorio Sperti, et al., *Enciclopedia Storico-Nobiliare Italiana* (Bologna, 1928-1935) Vol. IV, page 600, gives the date of 790. The Minio shield was azure with a band of gold lozenges; some branches added a cross. Variants of this are shown, though without dates or family branch specified, in Eugenio Morando di Custoza, *Libro d’arme di Venezia* (Verona, 1979) CCXXXIII, #2091; and in Giuseppe Tassinì, *Curiosità Veneziane: origine delle denominazioni stradali di Venezia* (Venice, 1863; edition. Lino Moretti, 1770) s.v. The shield with a cross is shown in BCMV *Codici Cicogna* 3529: Origine dele case patrizie de Stefano Magno, f 173. See n72 below.

⁶² Stanley Chojnacki, “In search of the Venetian patriciate: families and factions in the fourteenth century,” (1973) in Hale, *Renaissance Venice*, 57, 72, 75.

⁶³ Hopf cannot be completely relied on but his lists suggest the tendency. Ptelion: Dardi Minio 1355, Castellano Minio q. Michele 1462; Tinos and Mykonos: Nicolò Minio q. Michele 1464, Imperiale Minio q. Castellano 1506; Skiathos and Skopelos: Lorenzo Minio q. Francesco 1501; Nauplion: Bertuccio [sic] Minio q. Marco 1479; Monemvasia: Alessandro Minio q. Castellano 1512; Durazzo: Michele Minio maggiore 1427;

Bartolomeo was born to Marco Minio and Cristina Storlado q. Bartolomeo in about 1428, the youngest of five sons, named for his mother's father. Cristina died when Bartolomeo was two, and Marco remarried in 1431. In 1455, Bartolomeo married Elena Trevisan, daughter of Silvestro q. Nicolò, a family whose men commanded galleys. Eight Trevisan brothers and another daughter reached adulthood, among them Piero who made a number of visits to Nauplion during Bartolomeo's tenure there.⁶⁴ Bartolomeo's family lived in the San Tomà parish of the San Polo *sestiere* of Venice⁶⁵: he was elected *consiliere* for San Polo in 1511 and his son Marco took its census in 1509.⁶⁶ Bartolomeo and Elena had three sons who reached adulthood. Marco was born about 1460, and Alvise a year later: given the large number of children recorded for both parental families, the twenty-two-year gap between Alvise in 1461 and Francesco in 1483 suggests other children who did not survive and may help explain both some of the anxiety evident in the *dispacci* when Bartolomeo writes about wanting Piero Trevisan to be assigned to Nauplion, and the six-month delay between Bartolomeo's election and his departure for Greece.⁶⁷ Early in his career in the *terra mar*, in 1462, father of two babies, Bartolomeo was a *consiliere* to the *rettor* of Corfu.⁶⁸

Minio spent forty-two months and more in Nauplion after his arrival in November 1479. The last *dispaccio* is dated 25 March 1483, and his successor was elected in April. The previous September the Senato Mar had voted to elect a successor, this nine months

Cerigo [Cythera]: Michele Minio 1407 and Castellano Minio 1468. Hopf does not include Crete, the Levantine cities with *baili*, or the Adriatic or *terrafirma* cities where numerous Minios held office at various times.

⁶⁴ *Arbori* I.22.143 and VII.23.113. ASV Chron. Mat. for 1455.

⁶⁵ *Arbori* V.22.143. This San Tomà designation covers seven generations and includes individuals listed in S. Stae, S. Samuel, and S. Trovaso parishes, but I pass San Tomà daily and am writing this nearby, so it is pleasant to think it correct. A house near San Tomà, #2898, the first left turn when one is coming from the vaporetto, has over the door a shield with a Minio coat-of-arms (see n.64). The house is small and extremely plain. If the connection with Bartolomeo is speculative, at least the shield is that shown for the family in BCMV Codici Cicogna 3529, Origine dele case patrizie de Stefano Magno, f 173. Magno (1499-1572) was a younger contemporary and acquaintance of Bartolomeo's son Marco, and his chronicle shows close acquaintance with Bartolomeo's *dispacci*.

⁶⁶ *Consiliere*: Senato Mar R 16, f 110v. Those attending council meetings are listed in the margins of the Register. Whatever it means, on the seventeen times when Bartolomeo Minio was present at meetings, his name is first on the list. Marco's census figures are included in BCMV Codici Cicogna 3638, Nozze de nobeli veneti dal MCCC circa al MDXI circa.

⁶⁷ Calculating from the date of Bartolomeo's last *dispaccio*, and the date of Francesco's presentation for the Ballo d'Oro, Francesco appears to have been premature. This, if so, would fit with an impression of children who did not live. The gap could also be accounted for by the existence of unmarried daughters. It is nearly impossible to track daughters unless their names can be identified from marriage records: there are none for Bartolomeo and Elena, or for Marco and Cristina, his parents, while Elena had a married sister. The only male marriages recorded for this Minio family in those two generations are for Bartolomeo and his son Francesco, both youngest sons. Marco was presented for the Ballo d'Oro in November 1478, Alvise in December 1479 when Bartolomeo was in Nauplion, and Francesco in October 1501 when Bartolomeo was in Crete. Marco was elected, among other positions, *orator* to Portugal and Rome (1501, 1517-1520), emissary to Julius II in matters involving the banker Agustino Chigi (1511), and later *orator* to Süleyman I (1521) and Doge of Crete (1522-1524). He wrote a number of lively *dispacci*. BNMV Mss. Lat. Cl. 14, #267: Coll. 4344. He features prominently in a discussion of Venetian diplomats to Constantinople: Lucette Valensi, *The Birth of the Despot: Venice and the Sublime Porte*. Artur Denner, translator (Ithaca, NY, 1993). The Minio men aged well: Bartolomeo died in 1518, aged about 90; Marco died in 1541, aged about 81; Alvise in 1546, at 85; and Francesco in 1561, age 78. In 1531, at the age of 48, after years of transporting pilgrims to Jerusalem, Francesco married Lucrezia Marcello q. Pietro, whose career paralleled that of Bartolomeo: Pietro had also been captain in Crete, and also twice *podestà* of Padua.

⁶⁸ Senato Mar R 7, f 80v for 27 August 1462.

after Minio should have been able to go home, but there is no mention in the Senato Mar records or in the *dispacci* that this was done.⁶⁹

Starting fifteen years later, in 1498, the rest of Minio's career can be tracked in Sanudo's *Diarii* and occasional archival documents. As mentioned earlier, he was captain on Cyprus in 1499, and *vice-doge*, captain and *consiliere* on Crete between 1500 and 1502, where the problems were the same as those he reported from Nauplion and he reported them in almost identical language.⁷⁰ There is a gap in the records of his career after he left Nauplion in 1483, but he was also a councillor for water issues in the *terrafirma* in 1497, nominee for Captain General in 1500, *consiliere* and *capo* of the Dieci in 1503, member of the Signoria and *consiliere* to the Senato Terra in 1506. In 1509, at the age of 80, he was sent to Julius II in the matter of the papal interdict placed on Venice for the capture of Ravenna and Faenza.⁷¹ He was *podestà* for a difficult term at Cremona in 1504-05, and at Padua in 1506-07, and 1510.⁷² He had periods of illness: on 25 April of 1512 he missed vespers, "Because *ser* Bartolomeo Minio, the very old councillor, was sick"--he was then eighty-four. A week later he sent a message to the Collegio that he could not take the position of *vice-doge* because he was sick.⁷³ He was sick again the next summer and missed two major ceremonial events in May and June 1513.⁷⁴ When Venice, desperate for the defense of Padua, asked the patricians for gifts of money and men, Bartolomeo said that Marco would be responsible for his contribution: Marco gave 10 ducats and financed 5

⁶⁹ Hopf, 384: "Pietro Vitturi q. Rinieri (el. nel aprile)." This is not so noted in the Senato Mar R. 11 for the years 1478-1483, but many appointments are not noted. Senato Mar R. 11, f 152r for 27 September 1482 reads in part: "Vadit pars: quod fiant in hoc concilio duo provisores nostri, unus Neupacti et Alius Neapolis Romanie per Electionem S.mi domini ducis Consiliorum et Capitem de quaranta et per quatuor manus Electionum. Ei quisque electorum Eligat unum. Et illi qui habent plures ballotas, transeundo medietatem consilij Sit Provisor Neupacti, et Alius qui exigerit plures ballotas aliorum transendo medietatem consilii, Sit provisor Neapolis Romanie."

⁷⁰ BCMV Codici Cicogna 2681: Dal 1500 fino 1502 registro dei dispacci di Bartolomeo Minio, and Sanudo II and III, *passim*.

⁷¹ Giuseppe dalla Santa, "Il vero testo dell'appellazione de Venezia," *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* 19 (1900) 350, 355ff.

⁷² Sanudo V.511, 536; VI.18, 192, 233, 252, 269; VI. 533. BMCV Cod. Cicogna 2942, III, 18, *Processo acquavii foss.* BMCV Cod. Cicogna 2681, *Dispacci di Bartolomeo Minio di Candia*, 1500-1502. BMCV Cod. Cicogna 3160, XIII, *Commissione*. Following Minio references in Sanudo gives an excellent profile of the positions and penalties patrician families assumed on behalf of Venice. See, for example, Sanudo VIII.42 (April 1509), when Tiberio is a prisoner in Pavia; and in VIII.388 (June 1509), where Alexandro is a prisoner of the Pope; IX.299 (December 1509), Alvise is prisoner at Rome. Much primary material is available in the Correr and Archivio di Stato for Marco Minio who can be followed easily and vividly through the volumes of Sanudo. For further views of Marco Minio, see Lucette Valensi, *The Birth of the Despot: Venice and the Sublime Porte*, translated by Arthur Denner (Ithaca, NY, 1993) especially 11, 24-28, 37, 53; also Felix Gilbert, *The Pope, his Banker, and Venice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980). For Minio men behaving badly--voting more than once, bribery, embezzlement, extortion, disobedience to the Doge, offensive oratory--see Donald E. Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate: Reality versus Myth* (Urbana, IL, 1986), 93, 106, 160, 175, 199, 202, 233, 242. For Bartolomeo again, see Donald E. Queller and Frances R. Swietek, *Two Studies on Venetian Government* (Geneva, 1977) 89. The Minio family still continues in Venice, and there are a number of listings in the telephone book. There is said to be a Calle Minio in the S. Fosca parish (Tassini, *Curiosità Veneziane*: see n. 64); however, it derives from another branch of Minios two hundred years later, and I was unable to locate it.

⁷³ Sanudo Vol. 14.157, 195: "perchè Sier Bortolo Minio consier più vechio era amalato"; "fa dir amalato per non far l'oficio di vicedoxe."

⁷⁴ Sanudo Vol. 16.257.

men, considerably less than most contributions listed.⁷⁵ Bartolomeo served again as *podestà* of Padua in 1514, and in October 1515 he was *consiliere* at a meeting of the Dieci that went until the eleventh hour.⁷⁶ After 1515, Sanudo no longer records his participation in public life.⁷⁷ He died aged about ninety, in August or September 1518.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Sanudo Vol. 17.248, 297, 300. This San Tomà branch of the Minio family was not particularly affluent. It is perhaps useful to mention that government service was an unpaid obligation on patricians. Salaries paid to officials in the *stato mar* actually paid for staff, rather than personal, expenses. The fact that Bartolomeo and his son Francesco, both youngest sons, were the only members of their families for whom marriages are recorded, and Francesco was nearly fifty at the time of his, also supports a view of constricted finances.

⁷⁶ Sanudo, V. 21.196.

⁷⁷ A letter from Doge Leonardo Loredan on 4 May 1517, probably a clerical error, is addressed on the outside to “Marco Minio, Oratori nostro in Urbe,” but on the inside to “Bartholomeo Minio oratori nostro,” asking him to speak with the Pope about an issue of an inheritance from a Knight of Rhodes. BMCV Codici Cicogna 3462.2. “Lettere dogale.”

⁷⁸ Sanudo reports Marco *di* Bartolomeo in August 1518, and Marco *q.* Bartolomeo on 29 September. *Diarii* XXV passim and XXVI.72.

■ A Note on the Language and Spelling of the *Dispacci*

The language of the *dispacci*, like that of Magno and Barbarigo, is a loose combination of non-literary Italian with some Venetian idiom and spellings, the language characteristic of non-literary Venetian writing of the late quattrocento and early cinquecento.⁷⁹ As the manuscript now exists, a copy of a copy, the language could reflect the usage of the secretary(ies) making one transcription or another, the secretaries to whom Minio dictated, Minio himself, or a combination of all three. Specifically Venetian forms or terms, for example: *Christoforo*, *Domenega*, *moier*, *Nicolò*, *Pregadi*, *sam Marcho*, *zozo* (più), *Zorzi*, *Zuam*, are common.

Spelling in the late quattrocento was fluid, even within the same document (and allowing for individual interpretation of difficult handwriting): *Angelo-Anzolo*, *danari-danaro-dinar*, *messer-miser-misser*, *lecentiar-licentia*, *balestrieri-balestrieri*, *baylo-bailo*, *fazo-fazio* (feci), *Corintho-Coranto*, *Vallona-Valona*, *stero-staro*, *caxamata-cason*. However, the consistency of the inconsistencies in spelling and usage across the *dispacci*, such as *imbassador-ambassador*, *engarizado-angariazar*, *stere-staia-sterà*, *Lepanto-Nepanto*, *Heronimo Morexini-Ieronimo Moresini-Morosini-Ieronimo Morexini*, makes it likely that minor details have been changed as the text was encountered by various copyists. This inconsistency is particularly conspicuous in the forms of address: *V.S.*, *V. Signoria*, *Serenissimo Princeps*, etc., *V.S.^a*, *Vostra Signoria*, *Vostra Sublimità*, *V.E.*, *Vostra Excell.^a*, *Vostra Exxel.*, *Vostra Celsitudine*, *il glorioso Consiglio de Pregadi*, *Magnificis Advocatoribus Consil. Venetiarum*, *Magnifici et gloriosi Patres*, *Vostra Maestà*, *S.^a Colendissima* for the Signoria; and for the Captain General: *Magnifico dom.*, *Capitaneo general*, *Magnifico misser*, *V.M.^a*, *Vost Magn.^a*, *Vostra M.^a*, *La V. Magn.^a*, *Vostra Magnificentia*, *Magnifice*.⁸⁰ Because these titles are almost entirely written in abbreviations throughout the manuscript, and the handwriting is so difficult, the interpretation of some titles depends on luck, for the present reader as well as for earlier copyists. Whatever the explanation for such variance, it does not affect the meaning in any particular situation, and it seems that the frequent interjections of titles was conventional.

Conventions of quattrocento-cinquecento writing omitted the second capital letter in a name: *Zorzi todescho*, *Schiaveto de servia*, *Pasqual daste*, *Alvixe purinello*, *Zuam dario*, *Cristoforo duodo*. Numbers are set off with punctuation, e.g., *che stera .500. per*, or *in summa page .170. mal condionate*. Dates are most frequently written in the form of *die .xviij. Ottobre 1480*. Final I is written as J or II as Ÿ: *nuj, xvij Ottobre, consilij*. Short words are run together--*anui*, *laltra*, *lambassator*, *delaquial*. The punctuation is remarkably like that of the older *Book of Common Prayer* where phrases begin with *E*, *et* or *&*, and conclude with a colon. Rarely is there paragraphing or indication of a change of subject within a particular *dispaccio*.⁸¹

⁷⁹ This section is indebted to Anna Laura Lepsch's "The Language of Sanudo's *Diarii*," in David Chambers, Cecil H. Clough, and Michael M. Mallett, editors. *War, Culture and Society in Renaissance Venice: Essays in Honor of John Hale* (London, 1993) 199-212 passim.

⁸⁰ Where translations are included, I use the *dispacci*'s form of address--*V.M.*, *V.E.*, etc., but I change the formal third-person to the simple "you."

⁸¹ I have made transcriptions with only the minimum changes for clarity, e.g., by regularizing capital letters and some punctuation.

A few of the linguistic features in the *dispacci*--tendencies rather than completely consistent rules of observance--include:

1. The use of single consonants instead of double: *retori*, *proveditore*, *conduta*, *Excelentia*, *fabriche-fabrica*, *Nicolò*, *pezo*, *pozo*, *dupio*. However, there are also, conventionally: *tutti*, *fatti*, *spalle*, *fretta*, *carissimi*, and then a few that take with one hand and give with the other, such as *affano*, *provedditore*. Similarly, double consonants will irregularly replace single: *caddi*, *cossa*, *cautella*, *stratiotti*.

2. The loss of final vowels in the singular, which produces a remarkably anglicized effect: *algun*, *amor*, *Ambassador*, *cancellier*, *castel*, *caxon*, *citadin*, *collateral*, *dimostration*, *discretion*, *disputation*, *information*, *latin*, *moderation*, *moier* (moglie), *munition*, *nation*, *observation*, *provision*, *raxon*, *riformation*, *Signor*, *subvention*, *terror*, *visitation*.

3. Following this pattern, infinitives generally end in -r: *abandonar*, *ajutar*, *andar*, *brusar*, *capitar*, *cargar*, *cavalcar*, *complir*, *comprar*, *convenir*, *car*, *deffinir*, *doler*, *esser*, *far*, *fortification*, *fuzir* (fuggire), *haver*, *inclinare*, *lavor*, *levar*, *mandar*, *morir*, *observar*, *pagar*, *partir*, *poter*, *proclamar*, *proveder*, *raccoltar*, *satisfar*, *seguir*, *servir*, *sforzar*, *significar*, *tegnir*, *tornar*, *veder*, *piacer*, *romper*, *viver*, *zonzar* (giungere).

4. In one case, however, *vivere*, the infinitive with a final -e is used as a noun: *del suo vivere*, *per lo vivere*, *al suo vivere*.

5. The possessive pronoun agrees with the possessor: *le suo bollette*, *suo parenti*, *la utilità et fatiche suo*, *duo suo fiore*, *con il suo cavalli*, *nui suo rectori*, *le suo fameglie*.

6. Venetian variations from conventional spelling include:

a. ch for c, rarely g; or c for g before a and o: *bancha*, *boccho*, *casacha*, *circha*, *luocho*, *Lucha*, *mancha*, *Marcho*, *tochati*, *Turcho*.

b. g for c or z, as with *doge*: *algun*, *piage*, *seminagi*.

c. z for j, g, or gi: *manazer*, *mazor*, *viazio*, *zente*, *zonzer*, *zeneral*, *zovene*, *Zudei*, *zudexe*.

d. z for c or ss: *braza*, *cazera*, *fazo*, *zitadin*.

e. x for c, g or s: *Albanexi*, *caxa*, *caxon*, *Excelentia*, *mexi*, *prexente*, *proxima*, *raxon*, *respoxe*, *spexa*.

f. t for z: *munition*, *nation*, *pretio*.

g. n for m: *cun*, *quantunque*.

Better-known place names in the *dispacci* continue the earlier French and Italian variants: *Sethines* (Athens), *Legena* (Aigina), *Natolia* (Anatolia), *Stives*,⁸² *Sio* (Chios). These, taken with *Taliane* (Italian), suggest a preference for avoidance of an initial vowel: perhaps this is the assimilation of an Italian article or Greek preposition, where *Natolia* = *stēn Anatolia* or *Stives* = *stes Theves* (Thebes). In this context, the *dispacci*'s rendering of Greek names--primarily of towns in the Morea--are remarkably accurate: *Argos*, *Cacoyanni*, *Candia*, *Iri* (Iria), *Thermissi*, *Castri*, *Drapano* (Drepanon), *Tricephali*, *Chiparissia* (Kyparissia), *Capo Malio* (Malea), *Corphu*, *Angistri* (an island off Aigina), *Spetie* (Spetsai), *Marathona*, *Corantho*, *Vasilicata*, *Santorini*. In contrast to the Greek, Turkish names and titles seem to have been difficult: *Bassa Eunucho flamburaro*-*Bassa Flamburano*-*Flamburar Eunuco*; *Achumet*-*Achumed*-*Achumatbei*; *Sulimanbei*-*Sulimam Bei*; *Sinan Bey*-*Sinanbei*-*Synanbei*; *Omar Zalapi*-*Omar Zalapin* (Çelebi).

⁸² *Stives* is Thebes. In Greek, **θ** has the sound of v.

Stylistically, Minio frequently uses doubles: *prego et supplico*, *rechiesto et pregato*, *obediro et exequiro*, *ogni studio et sollecitudine*, *in omnibus et per omnia*, *la necessità et bisogni*; tripling and quadrupling when he is desperate or outraged: *formento, formento, et formento*; *robando et inquietando*, *fuzino et scapolo*; *prego et supplico*, *exorto et persuado*. He also uses Latin as markers: *ut supra*, *insuper*, *preterea*, *etiam*, *mutatis mutandis*.

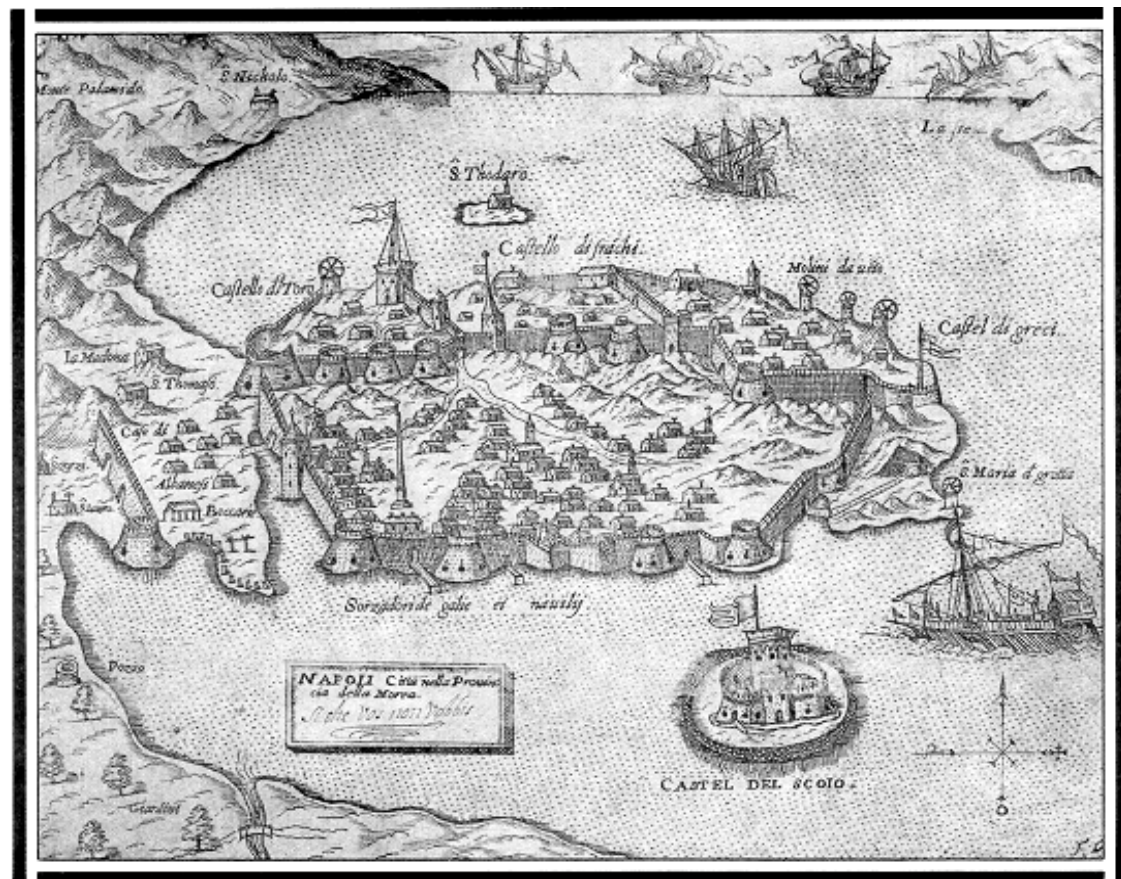


Figure1: The earliest known map of Nauplion, from C. F. Camocio, *Isole Famose, porti, fortezze e terre maritime* (Venice 1571-1575), issued after the victory at Lepanto. The sea walls have been completed, and a defensive “moat” dug along the eastern wall.

■ CHAPTER ONE ■

■ Nauplion: People and Structures ■

... *adi 8 de l'istante Deo duce arivai de qui a Napoli*

From the deck of the galley, Minio saw a promontory shaped like a ship pushing out from the eastern shore of the bay, Nauplion riding the crest. Rounding the prow he saw the chapel of S. Maria dela Grotta, and the Castello del'Isola guarding the port and marsh.¹ The flat land at the port was crowded with warehouses, churches, shelters for the mercenaries, boat sheds, fishing boats overturned for repair. A few buildings followed the road up the face of the hill to the acropolis where most of Nauplion was held within the new Venetian walls built on Frankish and Byzantine walls on a circuit of classical foundations.²

■ Churches, Walls, Neighborhoods

There are few documents, paper or archaeological, with which to reconstruct the physical substance of the Nauplion Minio knew. The churches are the easiest to identify: contemporary documents use them as references. The minute island in Karathona Bay behind Nauplion held a chapel to Agios Theodoros, and there was a chapel to San Nicolò on the Karathona shore, a chapel to Agios Panteleimon in the Castello del'Isola, a church of San Nicolò at the port,³ a Franco-Byzantine chapel half-way up the hill, a chapel in a cave

¹ *Boat sheds*: Sathas II #523.

² Guiseppe Gerola, "Le fortificazioni di Napoli di Romania," *Annuario* 13-14 (1930-31) 367, believes there were buildings outside the fortress in Byzantine times. Kevin Andrews, *Castles of the Morea* (Princeton, 1953) 98, states that "it is unlikely that any sort of settlement existed outside the fortress before the end of the XV century." Andrews cannot be supported, given present buildings, street configuration on the hill face, evidence from the *dispacci*, and evidence from a Nauplion will of 1405. The walls of Nauplion had received serious scholarly attention more than forty years before Minio arrived. The humanist Cyriacus of Ancona, travelling in Greece, visited antiquities in the Argolid and included a drawing of Nauplion's walls in his *Commentaria* (1447-8). Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venice & Antiquity: The Venetian Sense of the Past* (New Haven, 1996) Fig. 88.

³ Ag. Theodoros and Ag. Panteleimon are mentioned in *Byzantium, Europe, and the Early Ottoman Sultans, 1373-75: Anonymous Greek Chronicle of the Seventeenth Century: Codex Barbarinus Graecus 111*, Marios Philippides, editor and translator (New Rochelle, NY, 1990) 103; and *Chronikon peri tōn tourkōn soultanōn*. Georgios Th. Zoras, editor (Athens, 1958) 134. S. Nicolò at Karathona: Fig. 1, top left. S. Niccolò in Nauplion: Fig. 1, probably large church lower center, and *Dispacci* 170.15. I use the past and present Venetian form Nicolò in preference to the conventional Italian Niccolò. See: Note on Spelling in the *Dispacci*. Churches of the Greek and Latin rites are differentiated by *Agios* and *San*. Ag. Theodoros is shown

above Psaromachalas, the chapel of the Virgin at the grotto, and a small convent beside the stepped road leading up to the acropolis.⁴ The Orthodox had a church to Agios Andreōs on the acropolis, and a small church of the Virgin behind S. Athanasius in the plateia.⁵

The acropolis was divided naturally by the varying level of the rock into three areas which were and are called castles--the Castello dei Greci to the west which was divided from the Castello dei Franchi by the bastion of the early 1470s. After the defeat at Negroponte, a third fortification was added, the smaller Toro at the eastern end, as well as new walls and a tower to the Castello dei Franchi.⁶ Toro was built onto the narrow lower level of rock as a bastion outside the Castello dei Franchi.⁷ Akro-Nauplion after 1470 was then a walled city with two preliminary bastions, rather than three separate castles.⁸ When an aerial view of Akro-Nauplion is compared with one of Methone, it is clear that the fortifications of both peninsular cities were developed along the same general intent.⁹

In subsequent years, a wall from *Sasso*,¹⁰ the neighborhood below the eastern end of Toro, ran for *centa passa* to the main gate, and from there another *80 passa* to the round tower at the edge of the marsh, forming the boundary of the city of Nauplion, but when Minio arrived, this wall was incomplete, with only 40 or 50 *passa* completed. He had

in Fig. 1 as the island called S. Thodaro.

⁴ The Franco-Byzantine chapel is now called Agia Sophia. Photographs in Semnēs Karouzos, *To Nauplio* (Athens, 1979) #12 and #60 show the narrowness of the medieval street, and suggest the degree of crowding on the hillside before the lower land was enlarged. *Cave*: now dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul. *Grotto*: retains the same dedication. Fig. 1, extreme right, "S. Maria de grotta." *Convent*: Though a strong tradition supports the existence of the convent in the 15th-century, present structures are 16th-century Ottoman. Nerio Acciaiuoli left support for a convent in his will: the nuns are referred to as *chalogree* (he gave an Italian plural to καλόγρια) which suggests it was an Orthodox convent. Julian Chrysotomides, editor, *Monumenta Peloponnesiaca: Documents for the history of the Peloponnese in the 14th and 15th centuries* (Athens, 1995) #160, Item 23.

⁵ The church of the Virgin was replaced about 1700 by the present Panagia. *Ag. Andreōs*: may have been the Orthodox cathedral church, as it was significant enough to have been mentioned in a chronicle. *Die Byzantinische Kleinchroniken*, CFHB 12. Peter Schreiner, editor (Vienna, 1975-79) #32.10, 32.25. A small church on the highest point of Akro-Nauplion, excavated in the 1950s, has been identified as Ag. Andreōs. Wulf Schaefer, "Neue Untersuchungen über die Baugeschichte Nauplias im Mittelalter," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 76 (1961) 179 and map #4. Timothy E. Gregory, *Nauplion* (Athens, 1983) 66, says without discussion that this church was too small to have been a cathedral. *S. Athanasius*: Ploumides 266, #44, "in platea comunitatis."

⁶ Despite tradition, the Castello dei Franchi can never have been fortified independently of the Castello dei Greci, and is more accurately considered a large preliminary bastion. The new wall of 1483 joining the north and south curtain walls, Toro, and the new tower and entrance were built during the war under the supervision of *provveditor* Vittore Pasqualigo (1471), Zaccaria Barbaro (1473), with architect Antonio Gambello (who provided much of the design for the Gate of the Arsenal and S. Zaccharia in Venice). These constructions retain much of their original appearance. The best source of information is still Guisepppe Gerola. However, Gerola (366) believes that Toro was built in the period when Nauplion had two *rettori* (1493-1519) as there is a space for two shields over the southern entrance. Despite the fact that he made extensive use of the *dispacci*, Gerola failed to notice that Minio made several mentions of Toro and its defenses. The three divisions are identified in Fig. 1.

⁷ Access to Akro-Nauplion by foot is still through this gate, shown in Fig. 1, and by a road broken through Toro's south curtain.

⁸ *Relationes* 250.41-42: "che si chiama el castello de Franchi, perche è uno certo muro che divide esso castello de li Franchi cum li Grechi." "It is called the castle of the Franks because there is a particular wall that divides the castle of the Franks from the Greeks." The origin of these names which are still used dates back to the surrender in 1210 of Byzantine Nauplion to the Franks.

⁹ For Nauplion, see Fig. 1; for Methone, *Ellēnismos*, 282.

¹⁰ *Sasso*: Marino Sanudo (1466-1535), *Diarii*. Editors: R. Fuldini, F. Stefani, N. Barozzi, G. Bechet, and M. Allegrì. 58 vol. (Venice, 1879-1902; reprint Bologna, 1969) III, 995. This is the area identified in Fig. 1 as "S. Thomaso."

expected it to be finished.¹¹ From the gate a road followed the base of the hill past an administrative building and a small plateia to meet the stepped road which came down from Toro to the piazza and the port.¹² Minio was alarmed to learn that Turks from Argos came and went freely in Nauplion, brought by the Albanians.¹³ Anxious about the potential for violence, not to mention the 1500 “complaining and noisy Albanians” (“malcontenti ed volubili Albanesi”), he asked in his first *dispaccio* for *fanti* to be sent out as guards. Two months later, he had set a “contestabile con fanti 10” at the gate to collect weapons from the Turks at the gate when they entered and return them at departure.¹⁴

Outside this wall, beyond the narrow strip of land--only twelve *passa* wide--between Palamidi and the marsh, there was an advance wall, the *terraglio*. This served to keep attackers from going between Palamidi and Akro-Nauplion, and possibly climbing up the southern side of Akro-Nauplion.¹⁵ At the beginning of the 1463 war, the *terraglio* had apparently been an embankment built of dirt or mud brick, later replaced by stone. Minio wrote in his first report:

Further, I have found the walls in poor condition. The main wall at present is the embankment at the land gate, which is the whole fortification for the land, which controls the port, and is wide open.¹⁶

Beyond the *terraglio*--the neighborhood came to be called *Teragio*--was a church to Ag. Georgios.¹⁷ Naupliots had gardens there,¹⁸ gardens and grand houses along the *strada de Santa Veneranda* that joined the coast road.¹⁹ Since the war, the near edge of the territory

¹¹ *Relationes* 245. A *passa* was 5.5 feet, or 2 paces. The tower, or an earlier one in that position was called *Sombolo* early in the century. At that time it was sorely in need of repair. Sathas II, 123 for 31 December 1404. It or its replacement was identified later as *la torre Contarina*--there were thirteen Contarini governors of Nauplion--and is usually confused with the Contarini tower mentioned in Minio's account of the dividing line. See Appendix 7, page 209. *Relationes* 245 and Sanudo III, 996. See Schaefer, map page 162. The round tower, # 19 on Schaefer's map, was uncovered in excavations of the early 1990s. In present-day Nauplion, this is on the north side of the Capodistria park. Hopf, 382. See Fig. 1.

¹² This building with fine brickwork and two *oculi* may be the sole remaining Venetian building of the late *quattrocento* still in Nauplion. It has been ignored by the preservation authorities, and the roof and upper floors have collapsed. The present church of Ag. Giorgios is a 16th-century Ottoman mosque, identified by a crescent and barely visible just to the right of the land wall in Fig. 1. *Piazza*: the single mention in *Dispacci* 124.33.

¹³ Where Argos was concerned, Nauplion was the big city. The population of Argos was about 200 households, while Nauplion probably had ten times that. See below.

¹⁴ *Dispacci* f 1v and 118.9-10 for 12 November 1479; f 5v-6r and 124.24-34 for 29 January 1479[80]. *Fanti* are Italian soldiers, presumably more reliable than the *stratioti*. The city gate was closed in the evening and opened in the morning. A governor who permitted the gate to be open out of hours was fined 20 ducats and deprived of office for ten years. Sathas I, 303.

¹⁵ *Passo*: pace, i.e., two steps or five *pie*; 5.5 feet; thus 12 *passa* equals 66 feet. *Relationes*, 245. *Teragio*: Sanudo III, 996.

¹⁶ *Dispacci* f 1v and 118.22-26 for 12 November 1479: “Ulterius. Io ho trovato queste fabriche male in ordine . . . et la principal fabrica se ha a far al presente se il terraglio dela porta de la terra, dove consiste tutta la fortificatione de questa terra . . . et essendo quella parte aperta.” The *terraglio* was rebuilt in 1500 with two gates, the Gate of St. George, and the Remussati Gate. Sanudo III, 996. See Fig. 1.

¹⁷ *St. George*: Fig. 1, “S. Zorzi”; Zoras, 134. 24-25: τὴν ἔξω πόρτα τοῦ Ἁγίου Γεωργίου. Philippides, 103 #19.

¹⁸ *Gardens*: Fig. 1, “Giardini.” Also Sanudo III, 936, 937. These gardens are also shown on a map from 1686. ASV Archivio Grimani, F.57/172: Plan de l'attaque de Napoléon de Romanie. A reference from Methone a few years later suggests that such gardens could be a matter of privilege as all land was under Venetian control: “non intelligendo in hoc ortos qui sunt circa dicta castra, quos Castellani sunt consueti dare suis soldatis, et aliquibus latinis pro eorum usu.” Sathas I, 285.41-42, for 1485.

¹⁹ *Strada de santa Veneranda*: Sanudo III, 902 and *chiesa di Santa Veneranda* (III.936) is a problem: on the

was about three and a half miles away at Paleocastro, the Mycenaean fortifications of Tiryns, past the spring of Glykeia and the hill of St. Nicolò.²⁰

Between the city wall and the *terraglio*, between the gate and the marsh, was *Bouthouniares*, a market where meat was sold.²¹ Extending from the gate to the beach behind Toro, was *Remussiati* where people had built small chapels, mud-and-rubble houses, *calive* or shanties roofed with brushwood.²² These houses were a continuing source of aggravation for the Nauplion council because of the danger from fire.²³ The inhabitants were mostly Albanians, but the landless were there as well, the numbers of the refugees increasing as the depredations of Ottoman landholders expanded. Within the city, the Castello dei Greci--Castle of the Greeks--formed the larger part with houses, cisterns, a small cemetery, churches, storehouses, and probably grain mills crowded inside the walls, while at a lower level the smaller Castello dei Franchi held a few houses and the governor's residence.²⁴ The town, especially after so many years of war and soldiers and crowding, cannot have been particularly attractive, despite the incomparable view down the gulf and across to the snowy ridges of the Morea. Canon Casola's description of Methone, which was altogether a larger, more important, and even international, city, may have some relevance here:

eastern flank of Palamidi, by the Karathona road, is a small private chapel to Ag. Paraskevi, which in 1686 as Sta. Veneranda then belonged to the Capuchins. The road to it leaves the main road to go right, and over the flank of Palamidi to the bay at Karathona. As Strada de Santa Veneranda ended in the Albanian neighborhood, and Sta. Veneranda was a saint particularly venerated by Albanians, it could be expected that the 15th-16th -century church was located close outside the walls: the Gate of St. George was in sight of the chapel of St. George. *Grand houses*: "domus que est in Burgo Neapolis . . . fecerim multis expensas," from the will of Johannes Cavaza of Nauplion, 1502. ASV Atti notai, b 24/2.

²⁰ *Dispacci* f 67r and 210.43. Glykeia: Philippides, 103; Andrews, Plate XX; it bears the same name today, meaning "sweet waters." Fig. 1, front left, shows the stream from Glykeia. S. Nicolò is now Profitias Elias. The back side of the hill has long been used for a quarry; during the Second World War it was used for executions by the Gestapo.

²¹ *Bouthniars*: Philippides, 103. Fig. 1, *beccarie*, meat market, between the walls..

²² *Remussiati*: Sanudo III.996. *Remussiati* from *ramos*, *ramoscelli* = branches, twigs. The roofs are not likely to have been made of brushwood or branches, as suggested by Minio's difficulties in acquiring wood; more probably, giant reeds were used--the *arundo donax* which grows abundantly in damp ditches. *Remusiatti* became a family name: "D. Zorzi Ramussati cavallier capitano" of Nauplion led cavalry in Cyprus. Sathas VIII, 349.29; 352.36. Damian Romusiatti q. Zuanne, Ibid. 353. *Calive*: "dala Calive de Albanesi." *Relationes*, 249.1. *Calive*: from καλύβα, hut. Fig. 1: the area between the walls identified as "Albanesi."

²³ *Régestes* III, #2463. These "domunculas cohoptas paleis" were exempted from the tax for the first five years, after which they had either to pay the tax, or rebuild. The present bastion around the Toro tower was built about 1713. Before its construction, and even before the construction of the post-WW2 road up Akro-Nauplion, there was a much larger area available to settlers. See Gerola, fig. 10. The area is now called Ἀρβανιτιά though tradition explains the name by a horrific incident in 1771. Panos Lialitsis, *Nauplion* (Athens, 1972) 6.

²⁴ Gregory, 66. A Venetian storehouse stands just behind the transverse wall, now incorporated into the modern cisterns of the late 1970s. These cisterns use arched Venetian cisterns, which I saw once in 1977 from a precarious foothold. They have been sealed since, and apparently nothing has been published about them. Cisterns "destructi et rupti" are mentioned in a letter of December 1404, and a petition of 1515. Sathas II, 123; IV, 218.30-36. The commission to Francesco Bragadin for Methone in 1485 gives strict instructions about controlling access to the city cisterns in the (rainless) summer months, "a mense maii usque per totum mensem septembris." Sathas I, 287.6-7. Several small cisterns dating from the Byzantine period have been uncovered. Governor's residence: Ploumides 265-6 #39. It is possible that Greeks and Venetians lived by law in the separate sections. In Methone, foreigners were not to be allowed to live in the city--a law that cannot have been consistently followed. Sathas I, 296.39-40. A decision from 1486 speaks of improving the wall "fererat castrum Grecorum ab illos Itolorum." Senato Mar R. 12, f 69v for 6 March 1486. Because of the consistency of the name of Franks for the castle, the shift in this comment from "Castle of the Franks" to "those of Italy" is provocative.

I did not see either houses or palaces worthy of description; for its size it has many houses and they are close together. . . . The majority of their houses, whether they are large or small--at least from the middle upwards and on the side facing the public streets--are built of timbers. In short, I did not see any other beauty there.²⁵

The sole access to the Castello dei Grecii was on foot or donkey, up the stepped road and through the gatehouse to Toro, through the gate of the Castello dei Franchi and then into the Castello dei Grecii by way of two more gates and the portcullis of the new round tower, a massive inconvenience, at best.²⁶ The round tower in the thirteenth-century Frankish wall contained a frescoed chamber for official ceremonies.²⁷ As for secular buildings, a large hospital for the poor had been built a hundred years earlier, probably above the neighborhood of Psaromachalas where the fishermen lived.²⁸

■ “*Questa citadini, popolari, stratioti e soldati*”

Minio reported a population of 20,000, in which he included both the residents of Nauplion and the suburbs, and those in the countryside from around the bay down to the southern coast of the Argolid peninsula to Thermissi and Castri at Capo Scyllo.²⁹ This

²⁵ Pietro Casola, *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Year 1494*. M. Margaret Newett, editor and translator (Manchester, 1907) 192. Methone's ruins, though, do suggest that there was some architectural beauty.

²⁶ See Karouzes, #s 17, 23, 24 and particularly the aerial view of #35.

²⁷ Schaefer, 196ff. Other than a chapel (Hopf, xxx), it is impossible to determine now what other structures the Franco-Venetian fortification included. Large portions were demolished in the 1960s and 1970s without particular investigation, although damage at the time of the Greek Revolution and subsequent rebuilding had already obliterated much information. The tower frescoes, left open to weather and tourists for a century, have been sealed up since the late 1970s and are scheduled for restoration. A second large tower and Venetian gate (Fig. 1, tower with flying pennant) were destroyed at some time in the past.

²⁸ Hospital: Chrysostomides, #160, item 22, in the 1394 will of Nerio Acciaiuoli: "Item volem et ordinemo che in Napoli de Romania sia fatto uno hospetal per li puoveri . . . tuti li nostri beni, mobeli et stabele de Argo e de Napoli, per difichacione et mantinimento del dito hospetal." The location of the hospital is disputed, but see Frontpiece in Semnē Karouzo, *To Nauplio* (Athens, 1979). The Venetian regime supported hospitals with allotments of grain and, at least in Methone, appointed two citizens as supervisors. Sathas I, 285.43-285.3; 301.23-27. *Psaromachalas* derives from ψαράς = fisherman, and μαχαλάς = neighborhood; a few fishermen are still there, and some old-style houses that suggest the medieval proportions.

²⁹ *Dispacci* f 20r and 143.24: "sono aneme de XX mila in suso." This was in September 1480. In April 1482, he said that his population "che al mio giudicio passa da 25 mila cussi per citadini et terrieri como etiam per Stratioti et altri Albanese." 197.19-20. Capo Scyllo is Homeric and present Hermione. *Iliad* 2.526. Michael Jameson, Curtis N. Runnels, and Tjeerd H. van Andel, *A Greek Countryside: The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day* (Stanford 1994) 126, quote a communication from Peter Topping to the effect that, in 1530, the Castri-Thermissi area's population of 3,868 was 29 percent of the territory of that date. This is much smaller than Minio's reported 20,000 of 1480, even without 2000 extra males. Nicolò Justiniani (1525) gave a population of 8249, with 2761 in Nauplion and the suburbs. Bernardino Contarini (1527) reported the population as 12,000--a substantial increase over two years. Topping was referring to Vittorio Diedo's 1530 report which had 9431 in the suburbs and countryside and 3868 in the *castelli*, for a total of 13,299 *anime*. By 1530, land area had decreased, and the population had increased from Ottoman encroachment and the influx of refugees from Methone and Corone. Minus the military, these population figures compare with the count of 4000 Christian households in a patriarchal census of 1575. The Venetian count in 1700 gives 3,047 households for Nauplion and Thermissi; Topping uses a multiplier of 3.047 for a

population, though, was distorted by another 300 or so Italian mercenaries and 1,500 Albanian men, some *stratioti*, some not.³⁰ Evidence from 1481 or so, by a contemporary Flemish traveller, seems to support Minio's numbers: "Christians hold it [Nauplion], numbered at 5-6000 armed men. Of these, 2000 are *stradiotti*."³¹ Certainly, most *stratioti* had landholdings and families, and so did some Albanians. Still, the evident imbalance in the ratio of men to women suggests issues that never appear in the *dispacci*. In fact, the nearly complete absence of women from the *dispacci* is striking, and the only specific references to women occur in the context of crises: "uno nostro amicho" from Athens reported his Naupliote wife kidnapped by pirates; the wife and children of Minio's *cancellier* were taken at Negroponte and sold into slavery; Minio had to take the wives and children of Theodoro Bua and other rebels into custody.³² To give Minio's reports a context, though, the *Relationes* and Giacomo Barbarigo's *dispacci*, the nearest equivalent documents, make no mention of women at all.³³

This, taken in conjunction with a brief comment of September 1500 suggests not the absence of women so much as an absence of women from patrician families. There were certainly women in Nauplion engaged in many kinds of lives, if earlier notarial records from Methone, Corone and Negroponte can be used as a model, and a criminal charge against an earlier *provveditor* of Nauplion provides the name of *done* Marie Buriano, the wife of a citizen of Nauplion and herself engaged in trade.³⁴ She would not have been in the class of women whose families had the political influence to ensure a bishop on location to serve their needs, even though the Signoria had once issued a ruling requiring clergy to live

total population of 11,076. Vasilēs Panagiōtopoulos. *Plēthysmos kai oikismoi tēs Peloponnēsou, 13os-18os Aiōnas* (Athens, 1987) 120, 148. A report from the Ottoman attack of 1500 says that 25,000 *anime* and 8000 men-at-arms were sheltered inside the city walls: about this I am skeptical. Sanudo II. 1054. While numeracy was not Minio's strongest skill, his estimates may not have been too far off.

³⁰ *Dispacci* f 1v and 118. 6 for 12 November 1479; f 2r and 120.7 for 29 December 1479.

³¹ Joss van Ghiste: "Τὸ κρατοῦν χριστιανοὶ ποὺ μποροῦν νὰ κινητοποιήσουν 5-6,000 ἐνόπλους. ἀπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ 2000 εἶναι *stradiotti*": MGreek translation in Kyriakos Simopoulos, *Xenoi taxidiōtes stēn Hellada, 333 m. Ch.-1700* (Athens, 1970) 333. The title of Ghiste's work is given without publication data as "Le voyage excellent, grand, singulier, et étranger, fait par feu et vénérable seigneur, messire Joos van Ghiste . . . traitant de beaucoup de choses étrangers et merveilles, observées outremer, dans les pays d'Esclavonie, de Grèce . . ."

³² *Dispacci* f 32r and 160.43; f 24v and 150.15; f 31v and 159.36; f 33r and 162.19-23.

³³ Barbarigo, in Sathas VI, 1-92. *Relationes*, 244-254. After the surrender of Nauplion to the Ottomans in 1540, innumerable records mention Greek and Albanian women and children, by name, as the *Signoria* sought to provide for the families of men killed in Venetian wars. See Sathas VII, *passim*, for examples.

³⁴ Marie Buriano: Senato da Mar, R 10, f 171v-172r. *Done*, the feminine equivalent of *Ser*. Marie Buriano is one of the few women's names (none of them Greek) known from Nauplion since Marie d'Enghein sold Nauplion to Venice in 1389, ninety years earlier. Johannes Cavaza mentioned his wife Marie and his sister Magdalena in his will of 1405. ASV Atti Notai, b. 24, f 2. The one name of a Greek woman from Nauplion is that of Elena di Nicolò in 1534, fifty years later, but she had moved to Venice. Antōnē D. Pardos, "Alphabetikos katalogos tōn prōtōn melōn tēs Ellēnikes adelphotētas Benetias apo to katastiko 129 (1498-1530), II," *Thesaurismata* 17 (1980) 199, 203. The main source of information on women in the *stato da Mar*--other than Crete--appears to be the somewhat erratic transcriptions of *buste*, notarial documents, from Methone, Corone, and Negroponte by N. Iorga in *HRSEE* 1934 and 1935: these date from 1270s-1420s. Seventeen percent, 61 out of the 341 names in the *buste*, are women's names--heiresses, wives, slaves, mothers, testators, and women contracting business with other women. For Crete, we now have the three-volume collection *Wills from Late Medieval Venetian Crete, 1310-1420* (Washington, DC, 1998) edited by Sally McKee. There appears to be no similar material surviving after the 1420s for any of the Venetian cities in Greece.

in the see to which they had been appointed.³⁵ In a report on conditions in the *stato mar* in 1500, a syndic wrote:

Bishops will not stay there, and there has been no christening for three years. There are only the Greek bishops, and agents of the bishops, and none of ours. This is also so in the Morea, especially at Nauplion where no bishop lives, etc.³⁶

Government officials had not formerly been permitted to take their wives and families with them on assignment.³⁷ Most Venetian merchants may not have taken their wives to Nauplion, either: it was an unhealthy city with endemic malaria, and Venetians tended to follow their administration's lead. Many functions will have been filled by servants hired from the villeins, or the slaves who would have been found in most households.³⁸

Despite the number of churches, the syndic's report suggests the unimportance of religion in the administrative structure, certainly as unimportant in the *dispacci* as women, although Minio makes an occasional conventional pious comment: "Deo duce," "gratia Dei," "il glorioso sam Marcho."³⁹ A single church--San Nicolò--is mentioned and that as a reference for wall-building. Nauplion had two different Roman Catholic bishops *in absentia* during Minio's term, neither of whom it was necessary for him to mention, and neither of whom actually lived in the see: Guilelmus Militis (d.1482), and his successor,

³⁵ Requirement: *Régestes* II, #1984, for 1425.

³⁶ *Syndic*: government inspector. Sanudo III, 819: "Item, li vescovi non stanno li, no si pol far cresma za anni tre; sono *solum* episcopi greci et vicharij di vescovi, e non sufraganei; et cuissi *etiam* è in la Morea, *maxime* a Napoli, no vi è il vescovo etc."

³⁷ This was so in earlier years, but when it changed is not clear. The commission for Francesco Bragadin who went to Methone as castellan and *provveditor* in 1485 reads: "Uxorem et alias dominas tuas potes conducere tecum." ASV Commissioni Provveditori, Buste 3/52: Commissione à Francesco Bragadin, and Sathas I, 292.25, although he did not have a wife to take and he left his daughter at home. To judge from the contexts, family restrictions in commissions appear to be hedges against questionable financial dealings. Also Sanudo III, 819. There is an occasional trace of other arrangements: Antonio Loredan left "una bastardola" in Methone for whose marriage Bragadin made arrangements. ASV Atti notai, Testamenti B. 1235/118: Testamento de Francesco Bragadin. An Antonio Loredan q. Daniele was *provveditor* in Methone in 1462. Hopf, 381.

³⁸ Sally McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: The Latins and Greeks of Fourteenth-Century Venetian Crete*. Ph.D. Dissertation (University of Toronto, 1992) 85. What appears to be the single reference to Nauplion slaves is a line in a list from 1515 of prices to be charged by a *cancellier* (chancellor) for his services: "Per ogni carta de schiavo et schiava yperperi tre." Sathas IV, 216.30. The published selections from Iorga mentioned above give numerous references to slaves, usually by name or age, for example: "sclava etatis annorum sexdecim vel circha, orta de genere Tatarorum," "Chaterine Hort de genere Tatarorum, sclave mee," "unam meam sclavam etatis annorum duodecim vel circha," "una mea sclava etatis annorum viginti quatuor vel circha, orta de genere Tartarorum." Iorga's references illustrate Iris Origo's superb discussion, "The Domestic Enemy: The Eastern Slaves in Tuscany in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Speculum* 30 (1955) 321-366. Most slave records from the Greek territories date from the early 1400s or before: it is difficult to gain a sense of late-15th-century actuality. Jacques Heers, *Esclaves et domestiques au moyen âge dans le monde méditerranéen* (Paris, 1981) especially 69-79 *passim*, has useful information on the issue of Christian slaves, particularly Orthodox. In 1418, there was some caution about taking Greek slaves. *Régestes* II, 1697. Throughout the century, a large number of Albanian slaves were sold to Venice by way of Durazzo. Alain Ducellier, "Albanais dans les Balkans et en Italie à la fin du Moyen Âge: courants migratoires et connivances socio-culturelles," in Simonetta Cavaciocchi, editor. *Le migrazioni in Europa secc. VIII-XVIII: Atti della Venticinquesima Settimana di Studi* (Prato, 1993) 254-256.

³⁹ The importance of religion in the social structure is a different matter. The *terra* observed at least 26 Latin holy days and Sundays; there would have been additional Greek holy days. See Sathas IV, 107-108.

Augustino de Matzmarico, O.S.B.⁴⁰ The bishops held the largest fief, that of Thermissi with the salt pans, and rejoiced in a large income from the salt trade—6,000 ducats a year, six times the governor's budget. Their castle, considered to be a "fortezza inexpugnabile," usually had a small military guard at Nauplion's expense.⁴¹ Episcopal interests in Nauplion were protected by procurators, one of whom, Janulli Calavro, lent Minio money to buy grain in an early crisis.⁴²

As for the "solum episcopi greci": Minio wrote that an unnamed Orthodox bishop recommended "piu antiqui et intelligenti" residents⁴³ whose testimony Minio needed along with that of "nostri preti," which suggests that there were several Latin priests in Nauplion, including Franciscans.⁴⁴ Orthodox clergy were appointed by the *rettor*, after consultation with influential Greeks.⁴⁵ An important Orthodox monastery, the Agia Monē, stood on a hillside east of the town. In 1438, a Roman Catholic bishop who did live in Nauplion and wanted the Monē as part of his fief caused a difficult incident: Doge Francisco Foscari wrote a letter guaranteeing its possession to the Orthodox and reaffirming the right of

⁴⁰ Agostino de Matzmarico was abbot of the Monastery of S. Leonardo in the diocese of Chioggia. Konrad Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevii* (2nd edition, Münster, 1914) II, 94. Giorgio Fedalto, *La chiesa Latina in Oriente* (Verona, 1976) II, 45-46.

⁴¹ Geōrgios Ath. Chōras, *Ἡ Αγία Μονὲ Ἀρίας Ναυπλίου* (Athens, 1975) 254. *Dispacci* f 5r and 123.16-19. The position of the castro at Thermissi, and the narrow approach over an abyss, makes it defensible by a very few men, although its small size and water supply create other limitations. Personal communication from Pierre MacKay, Ph.D., University of Washington.

⁴² Calavro was a citizen of Nauplion. In 1501, he went to Venice as an emissary of the commune to obtain redress for losses during the Ottoman siege of 1500. Sathas IV, 194. *Dispacci* f 11v and 132. Presumably, the *Signoria* repaid Minio's loan. *Relationes* 245.28.

⁴³ The Orthodox bishop may have been a Demetrios Pigasē. See n45 below. "Anciani, homines seniores, antiqui. . . Ils désinent chaque fois une catégorie de parèques [villeins] que se distinguent, non pas tant par leur âge que par leur rôle dans la communauté: dans les deux cas ils sont consultés sur les droits et possessions du seigneur . . . et spécifier les terres cultivées ou incultes dépendant de la seigneurie. . . Ces . . . avaient encore certaines autres fonctions dans l'administration du village: mise en possession de stases, enquête en case de litige, etc." Jean Longnon and Peter Topping, editors. *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1969) 263.

⁴⁴ *Dispacci* f 19r and 143.3. For Franciscans, see n47 below. It is not clear which cities had resident Orthodox bishops at which time. *Relationes*, 245.29, refers to "Prothopapà de Grechi, dal Protopapà de Albanesi." Venetians understood *protopappas* ("first priest") as the equivalent of *vescovo*. Allowing bishoprics within city walls was one of the concessions by which Venice hoped to stem a leakage of population (and tax base). Simon Pepper, "Fortress and Fleet: The Defense of Venice's Mainland Greek Colonies in the Late 15th Century," in David Chambers: Cecil H. Clough, and Michael M Mallett, *War, Culture and Society in Renaissance Venice: Essays in Honor of John Hale* (London, 1993) 45, also n55. Thiriet, *La Romanie*, 289-291, 404-405, has a brief general discussion Greek clergy in the *stato mar*. The fact of Union of the Churches seems to have been irrelevant as far as documents for Nauplion are concerned, although Cretan documents record much controversy over, and preferential treatment for, Orthodox priests supporting union. *Régestes* III, #3128 for 30 March 1461. The repudiation of Union at the Council of Constantinople goes unmentioned in *stato mar* documents. In fact, in a reference from 1500, admittedly in the extreme circumstance of a siege, Orthodox and Latin priests appear to have concelebrated mass. Sanudo III, 937.

⁴⁵ See, for example, *Short Chronicles*, 234 #31: Ὀκταβιάνος Μρόνος ἐποίησε πρῶτον πρωτοπαπᾶν Ναυπλίου παπᾶν Ἰωάννην τὸν Κατελόν, for June 1405; #34: Θωμᾶς Μινότος ἔκαμε δεύτερον πρωτοπαπᾶν παπᾶν Νικόλαον τὸν Πιγάση, for August 1414; 237 #47: κύριος Βιτζιλᾶος ντα΄Ρίπας ἐποίησε τρίτον πρωτοπαπᾶν Ναυπλίου τὸν του πρωτοπαπᾶ ἀδελφὸν παπᾶν κύρη Δημήτριον τὸν Πιγάση, for August 1460. "Ottaviano Bon appointed the first *protopappas* of Nauplion, Papa Yannis Catello — Toma Minotto made the second *protopappas*, Papa Nikolaos Pigasē — Kyr (Sir) Vincislao da Riva appointed the third *protopappas* of Nauplion, the brother of the *protopappas*, Papa Kyr Demetrios Pigasē.

clergy to be tried in clerical courts.⁴⁶ Franciscans maintained a presence in all the *stato mar* territories and caused some degree of concern by what the Signoria considered excessive enthusiasm for spiritual matters.⁴⁷

Minio also gives little attention to Nauplion's role in the Venetian merchant enterprise. A large volume of trade was conducted--mostly in the Morea, in small amounts--by Nauplion Greeks and *stratioti*. Ser Rinaldo Mezola, a Nauplion citizen, traded at Thebes, a week's journey each way: Thebes was a major producer of silk, and silk was one of Nauplion's exports. Other Naupliots, Venetians and Greeks alike, traded at Dubrovnik, Albania, Constantinople, Negroponte and Chios.⁴⁸ Since the chrysobull of 1082 and probably long before, Nauplion had been a collecting point and port of export for goods from all across the Morea and the mainland, including cotton, raw silk, currants, flax, resin, carob pods, and dyes, cochineal and valona.⁴⁹ Locally, the territory produced wax, grain, honey, wine and raisins. At one time, Argos had produced fustians, coarse cotton cloth, which were shipped out of Nauplion.⁵⁰ Salt production (mostly from Thermissi, though small amounts came from Drepanon and up the coast on the edge of the bay near town), in fact, was a major source of income for Nauplion's *camera*, producing about 12,000 hyperpers, or 2400 ducats a year: most of it was sold to the Morea.⁵¹ Vines for export wine seem to have been grown extensively around Nauplion, to the detriment of basic food

⁴⁶ The church of the Agia Monē dates from 1149. It is now a convent of Zoōdochos Pēgēs. Chōras, 253-255 and Pl. 17 for a transcription and photograph of the document. A similar action was taken in Negroponte in 1282. Thiriet, *La Romanie*, 289. The Orthodox clergy appear to have had more restrictions in Crete, fewer in Corfū. There is too little information about Nauplion. The right of clerical courts had also been confirmed for the Bishop of Argos and Nauplion in 1396. Chrysostomides, #182.

⁴⁷ The dogal letter of 7 April 1438 just mentioned refers to *fraticelli*. Chōras, 255. Ploumides 265-266, #38 for 1491 and #39 for 1493 mentions four Franciscans of *Santa Maria vallis viridis*. These would have been from the Abbazia della Misericordia, or Santa Maria di Val Verde, on the edge of the lagoon in Cannaregio, Venice. Under the patronage of the Moro family, the friars received from Nicholas V in 1454 a letter granting them the right to administer the sacraments. The text of the letter is in Guiseppe Cappelletti, *Memorie storiche sul priorato abaziale di Santa Maria della Val Verde* (Venezia, 1854) 10-11; see also Pietro Pianto, *Notizie storiche della veneta chiesa priorale abbaziale intitolata S. Maria di Misericordia della Val-Verde* (Venezia, 1828). In 1493 the *provveditor* was told to make use of their services. Ploumides, 266.

⁴⁸ Barisa Krekić, *Dubrovnik (Raguse) et le Levant* (Paris, 1961) #s 548, 712, 825, 1335, 1425. Members of the Catello family (see below) exported Nauplion cheese to Dubrovnik. *Dispacci* ff 67v and 211.32; 15r and 137.23; 35r and 165.11-12. Mezola, Thebes: *Dispacci* 163.33, 165.18. Rinaldo Mezola's family will have moved to Nauplion when Athens passed into Ottoman hands in 1464. A "Renaldo Melzola," probably a grandfather, was ambassador to Venice for the Duke of Athens in 1425. Sathas I, 178-9. *Régestes* II, #2007. Marco Salamon was improperly involved with, among other things, trade to Albania. Senato Mar, R. 11, f 172. Senato Mar, R. 11, f 173r mentions a Greek captain from Nauplion.

⁴⁹ This was something on the order of 900 kilograms of salt in 1456. A petition from the citizens of Nauplion in 1451 called Thermissi "le più notabilie saline che sia in tuto Levante" and "un pozo d'oro." Jean-Claude Hocquet, *Le sel et la fortune de Venise* (Lille, 1979) I, 79, 163. Deno John Geanakoplos, *Byzantium: Church, Society, and Civilization Seen Through Contemporary Eyes* (Chicago, 1984) #208. Jameson, 125, again quoting Peter Topping, says that the kermes-oak dye exported from Nauplion did not come from there. I have seen kermes oak, with the requisite cochineal insects, in deep, well-watered valleys at the Agia Monē and Monē Karakalas: this suggests that dye could have been collected locally in small amounts. Francesco Balducci Pegalotti, *La Pratica della mercatura*. Allan Evans, editor (Cambridge, Mass., 1936) 119, for silk from Clarentza.

⁵⁰ Charles Hopf, editor. *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes inédits ou peu connues* (Berlin, 1873) XXIX from the will of Gautier II de Brienne, 1347.

⁵¹ *Relationes* 252.41-43, for Vittore Diedo, *rettor* 1529-31.

crops--these will have been the main plantings along *strada santa Veneranda*.⁵² Wine and oil were also bought elsewhere and sent to Nauplion for export.⁵³ From Nauplion, goods were usually shipped to Methone on small boats--a journey always vulnerable to piracy--for loading on the galleys returning to Venice from the Levant.⁵⁴

Despite Minio's apparent lack of attention to trade in the *dispacci*, *provveditori* had enormous responsibility in that regard, though less at Nauplion than at many Venetian ports. The *provveditor* was to oversee the *amiraglio*--the officer responsible for the port authority and customs--and his underlings to make sure none of them accepted gifts of grain or cheese from any boat leaving or entering the port. He had to see that a tax of 1 *tornese a mitro* was paid on any wine entering the port or sold in the territory.⁵⁵ He had to keep an eye on foreigners who came from the port into the city. The *provveditor* was ultimately responsible for how ships were loaded--no merchandise "ab arbore de medio versus proram," from the mast to the prow, and none in the "coredores," the footway between the oarsmen's benches; the waterline was to be checked, and he could pay sailors a bonus if they reported improper loading.⁵⁶ The *provveditor* was also to ensure that nothing was exported to lands or subjects of the *Saraceni* and the *Soldan* that might be used to harm *Christianos*--such as wood, iron, weapons, horses: he was to ask merchants if they were involved in such exports, and if so, fine them.⁵⁷

Few comments anywhere suggest just who did live in Nauplion. Most of the 180 individuals named in the *dispacci* are either military or Venetian officials. Some individuals, though, and suggestions of complex and interesting lives, can be gleaned from Minio's occasional references and a few other sources. When Venice bought Nauplion in 1388, all land came into Venetian control and was thereafter administered in a variety of ways: rents, grants for some period of time, or as fiefs. Fiefs were a device by which large areas of land, away from the city, could be brought into production. Fief holders, *feudatarii*, did not necessarily have required military functions: Minio had to send down a bands of soldiers to defend fiefs under threat. Fiefs usually included towns, and had walls or towers

⁵² The will of Johannes Cavaza cited above refers to his vines. ASV Atti Notai b 24/2. He was a citizen and well-off. "In a class society, where much of the surplus is appropriated by the state or by landlords . . . the peasant cannot often afford to own arable land. In order to cultivate it . . . and survive, he has to have not only his labor but also agricultural capital of one form or another, primarily in the form of oxen and agricultural implements . . . Very few peasants could accumulate that kind of capital. On the other hand, vineyards need considerable care and labor in particular seasons, but virtually no capital. A piece of land can be made productive easily, with as little as a spade. Even a poor man can afford to have a small plot of vineyard." Laiou-Thomadakis, 175.

⁵³ *Relationes* 245.6-7. Wax: Sathas III, #854. Salt: Hocquet, Vol. 1. 91, 163 quoting the inhabitants of Nauplion in 1451, "in el castello de Termissi, se trova le più notabile saline che sia in tuto Levante, de la qual se poria cavar un pozo d'oro." Wood: *Dispacci* f 44r and 179.14. Oil, wine: *Dispacci* f 36v and 167.25. See also Jameson, 125. Wine: *Relationes* 245.7.

⁵⁴ Magno 219.22-24: "uno grippo da Napoli de Romania con marchandanti, danari et sede a Modon, per montar in sopra le galie venivano da Baruto per condur a Venetia, quello per una fusta de Turchi fu preso et batudo a fondo; questo se se have adi 15 Marzo 1480."

⁵⁵ *Mitro*, *metro*, το μέτρον: a liquid measure used for oil and wine, 15.79 liters. Thiriet, 229.4. Barrels, butts, of wine contained from 20 to 58 measures. Longnon and Topping, 278-279.

⁵⁶ This may seem a trivial concern for *provveditori*. This commission dates from 1485. In 1480, Troilo Malipiero, from a prominent trading family, was sentenced for physically attacking a port official who was inspecting his ship. Possibly a *provveditor* would be safer. Queller, *Patriciate*, 168.

⁵⁷ Sathas I, 293-4, 296-9, 303, 305. As Nauplion had to import its own iron, wood, weapons and horses, and was always short of them all, this last is not likely to have been much of a problem.

into which nearby villagers might come for safety, and simplified the collection of taxes. These villagers were usually villeins of the fiefholders.⁵⁸ With the exception of the mills at Kiveri,⁵⁹ all the fiefs so far identified were south of Nauplion in the primary area for growing grain and grazing: fiefholders functioned as merchants rather than knights. Ser Francesco Alberto held a fief down at Castri.⁶⁰ The bishop of Nauplion had the fief of Thermissi. During Minio's term, a Greek from the imperial family, Theodoro Paleologos was assigned a fief at Castri as a *provisione* for his services as *capo*, a fief that he and his descendants ruled with little regard for Venetian constraints.⁶¹ As reward for his services at the time of the Ottoman assault in 1500, Janulli Calavro was given a fief to be held by his sons and their male heirs in perpetuity.⁶²

There were constant encroachments on fiefs from Ottoman subjects from the mountains--Arachnaion, Agionori, over toward Epidauros, or from Ktenias who occasionally brought their flocks down to graze, "per modo che uno Gentilhommo non puol star."⁶³ Transhumance had long been a contentious issue. A generation, before the *rettori* of Nauplion had unsuccessfully tried to collect grazing fees, *lo herbadigo* from the Despot's people.⁶⁴ In addition to land grabs and illegal grazing, pirate raids constantly threatened merchant stores and boats. Damian Agrimi, *patron* of a boat in port at Castri, lost a load of cheese and other merchandise to pirates who took Zorzi da Londa's boat in the same raid.⁶⁵

⁵⁸ This was also the practice under the Paleologoi emperors, where the equivalent of villeins were known as *paroikoi*. Angeliki E. Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study* (Princeton, 1977) 35, 52-53. In the Greek settlement pattern, peasants have always gathered in villages for community and defense, and walk out to farm. The lands held by individuals in any one village are split into small tracts over the territory, so that the advantages and disadvantages of land conditions are shared.

⁵⁹ *Dispacci* f 57r and 197.11. Kiveri, called *Civier* in the *dispaccio*, is the present Myloi across the bay, not the present Kiveri. See Appendix 7 for further discussion.

⁶⁰ *Dispacci* f 3v-4v and 121 for an account of Ottoman claims on the Alberto fief. Minio uses *ser* as the honorific for Nauplion and Venetian citizens, and *miser* for Venetian patricians. Venice followed the feudal code of the *Assizes of Romania* and instructed *rettori* to settle disputes over fiefs in accord with "statuiti de la Morea." *Régestes* III, #2888 for 13 May 1452. The *Assizes* have been published by Peter W. Topping as *Liber consuetudinum imperii Romaniae: Feudal institutions as revealed in the Assizes of Romania, the law code of Frankish Greece* (Philadelphia, 1949). See also, David Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale: les "assises de Romanie," sources, application et diffusion* (Paris, 1971). As late as 1452, Venice was still trying to clarify various local feudal traditions. It was found that the copy of the *statuiti* used on Negroponte had 327 sections, while the copy in Venice had 150. After a comparison, it was decided to add 37 items from the Negroponte copy to the Venetian, which would then be the official version. *Régestes* III, #2902 for 9 November 1452. Sathas V, 29, for a concession to Dimitri Paleologos, *capo*, in 1500 and below.

⁶¹ *Relationes* 246.35-40; 247.11-14; 254.1-2. They seemed to have an alliance with the descendants of Ser Francesco Alberto. Sanudo III, 431.

⁶² Sathas IV, 194.

⁶³ *Relationes* 247.4-5. Three hundred years later, a Venetian official thought transhumance should be encouraged for the sake of the fertilizer. Peter Topping, "Dominico Gritti's Relation on the Organization of Venetian Morea 1688-1691," in *Studies in Latin Greece, AD 1205-1715* (London, Variorum Editions, 1977) IX, 316. Originally published: *In Memoria di Sofia Antoniadis*. Istituto Ellenico di Studi Byzantine e Postbyzantine de Venezia (Venice, 1974).

⁶⁴ *Régestes* III, #2866 for 26 June 1451.

⁶⁵ *Dispacci* f 63v and 206.5-6. A *patron* was part-investor in merchandise who took the sailing risk. According to Jameson, 121, Castri was the port of export for produce from the inland estates. This makes sense, with the reference to a load of cheese: this was the main grazing area, for sheep and goats. Damian Agrimi ("wild goat") and Zorzi da Londa may have been *provisionati* with land grants. Jameson et al., 126, says incorrectly that there is no mention of cheese export under the Venetians. For an informative description,

Most, though not all Greeks, were villeins, a status not essentially different from what it would have been under Byzantine rule.⁶⁶ Fees paid by villeins on marriage could be retained by the governor.⁶⁷ Each villein household owed *angarias* for wood, wax, and half-a bundle of straw, difficult to obtain: at Easter and Christmas they might pay three *torneselli* in lieu of the required *fascium* of wood.⁶⁸ Between the *angarias* and the various taxes imposed by the Signoria, while still producing for the landhold and feeding their families, villeins were under enormous pressure and had been for some time, although there were fewer taxes imposed in Nauplion than in others: “fra i altri datii . . . che sono pochi in questo luochio.”⁶⁹

Villeins had some protection, though it varied among territories, and will have varied between masters.⁷⁰ *Provveditori* could claim an *angaria* of hay three months a year from each villein household for their horses; if they had fewer horses than specified, they were to take proportionally less hay. They might pay villeins to grow more hay than the *angaria* required, but they were to pay the market price. Villeins were to be able to use the town boat to get wood. Villeins in Methone-Corone owed twelve *angarias* a year, and had to present themselves twice a month for labor; in Nauplion, they were free from *angarias* of labor, and were to be paid should labor be required.⁷¹ *Provveditori* could not claim gifts of chickens and eggs, or mules.⁷² Villeins might hold public office, although that did not excuse them from *angarias*.⁷³

Few townspeople are visible but they have substantial roles in relationships with the Ottomans. *Ser* Hieronimo Lion, a leading citizen of Nauplion, accompanied Minio on his first venture outside the territorial boundary to meet with the *flamburar* of the Morea. As a grand gesture to an empty Nauplion treasury, and to save Minio from embarrassment, Lion bought three silver cups from *miser* Andrea for Minio to present to another *flamburar*.

see Casola, 203, about cheese export from Crete.

⁶⁶ *Dispacci* f 3v and 121.31, 34: “essendo villani et albanexi desobedienti.” Also in Sanudo III, 922, villeins are “homeni de mala sorte”

⁶⁷ Sathas I, 287.4-42.

⁶⁸ *Dispacci* f 7v and 126.33. *Régestes* II, 1969. Laiou-Thomadakis, 149, where *paroikoi* were to perform a certain number of labor services, including donations of food for the army, and to offer the landlord a present three times a year. Each household in Methone and Corone owed a half-bundle of straw a year. Peter Topping, “The Post-Classical Documents,” in *Studies on Latin Greece, AD 1205-1715* (London, Variorum Editions, 1977) VIII, 69. Originally published in *The Minnesota Messenia Expedition*. William A. McDonald and George R. Rapp, Jr., editors (Minneapolis, MN, 1972). Minio had to consider straw in negotiating the territorial divisions. (Chapter Three.) He said he could have 1000 men ride out of Nauplion. *Dispacci* f 57v and 197. Most horses were pastured 10 miles south of Nauplion in the fields around Iria, or in the Thermissi-Castri area. *Dispacci* f 20v and 144. *Fascia* at Easter and Christmas: Sathas I, 291.24-28.

⁶⁹ *Dispacci* f 40r and 173.17 for 8 November 1481. It has been suggested that the heavy Albanian presence in the Argolid contributed to the erosion of villeinage there. Jameson et al., 124. Some feudal *angariae* were dropped to encourage Albanian settlement. Chrysostomides, #207 for 27 July 1397. The wax *angaria* had been removed for Nauplion in 1445 because of hardship. Sathas IV, 190.21.

⁷⁰ In 1405, Johannes Cavaza of Nauplion willed “Stamatis filii quondam Johannis meo villano” a hundred hyperpers, and the same to “mee villane . . . pro sua maritare.” ASV Atti Notai b 24/2.

⁷¹ Sathas I, 300.10-24; 288.31-35. Beyond the wood *angaria*, the *provveditor* had an allowance of 30 ducats a year to purchase wood or have it sent from Venice. Sathas I, 300.20-21; III, 278.35-38; 444.16-20. *Régestes* III, #2712 for 8 April 1446.

⁷² Sathas I, 286.28-29 for sheep, goats, chickens, eggs; 289.2-5 for mules. Under the Paleologoi, *paroikoi* owed “gifts” of bread, wine, and chickens, and forced sales of animals. Laiou-Thomadakis, 149, 182.

⁷³ Sathas I, 300.14-15. One cannot safely assume a particular level of poverty or literacy in any class, or social views within a class. Members of the Nauplion council, at least in later years when it had been enlarged, were not always lettered, and voting frauds were committed in their names. *Relationes* 24.4-7, for 1535.

Hieronimo may have been a relative of Miser Joseph Lion, Nauplion's *camerlengo*,⁷⁴ a Venetian patrician who, the previous summer, had written complaint about Minio to the Captain General for a group of *fanti* who had rebelled, “fatto una risa,” against him.⁷⁵

These men, other than the *fanti*, were all *cittadini* of the *comunità* of Nauplion which will have had non-Venetian and Greek citizens as well, but citizenship varied as to privilege and duration.⁷⁶ Citizenship might be awarded for outstanding military or economic services--as to Janulli Calavro and his sons, or for prestige purposes, for seven or twenty-five years or for life. Citizens of the *comunità* are identified in Signorial documents as *fideles*, e.g.: “fidelissimos nostros Bocholi et Busichii capita Stratiotorum nostrorum,” “our most loyal Bocholi and Bozikē, *capi* of our *stratioti*.”⁷⁷

Beyond frequent and genuine expressions of concern for their poverty and difficult lives, Minio gives minimal attention to Greeks in or out of Nauplion. This means only that he did not encounter issues with Greeks for which he needed assistance or advice from the Signoria, and says nothing about what views or relationships he might have had. He complimented Nicolò Cacoyanni: “*capo* of *stratioti* here, an intelligent man and skillful Greek” (“*capo* de *Stratioti* de qui, homo intelligente ed esperto Grecho”). Cacoyanni spoke Turkish well, and went on missions to the flamburar several times.⁷⁸ One other Greek name of the period can be recovered for Nauplion: Michalio Tzaulos who was defrauded by a previous *provveditor* in a business deal.⁷⁹ By the 1490s, references can be found to significant Greek writers, painters and religious figures in Nauplion, but of such there are no traces in the *dispacci*.⁸⁰ In 1492, the *rettor* commissioned a large altarpiece from painter Nicolas Zafuris for the cathedral--might this have been for S. Athanasius in the lower

⁷⁴ The position of *camerlengo* had been traditionally given to a Nauplion citizen but an act of 1442 provided for election by the Great Council of a noble to that position: part of a process in which new jobs were created for hard-pressed Venetian patricians, as discussed in Donald E. Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate: Reality versus Myth* (Urbana, IL, 1986) 43. The mention of *miser* Lion in this connection is intriguing. The commission of Francesco Bragadin gives several examples of jobs specified for patricians, and rates of pay. Sathas I, 283-307.

⁷⁵ *Ser* Hieronimo was a Nauplion citizen; *miser* Andrea will have been a Venetian patrician, as well as a citizen. *Dispacci* ff 8r and 127:20; 28v and 155.16-17. The *fanti* wanted patrician backing against another patrician. Stanley Chojnacki, “In search of the Venetian patriciate: families and factions in the fourteenth century,” (1973) in Hale, *Renaissance Venice*, 66; 84n56: “Lion . . . reported as having been among the fugitive families from Acre given membership in the Great Council upon their arrival in Venice in the 1290s.” Also 88n106. The Lion name occurs frequently in documents from Corone.

⁷⁶ *Comunità*: see use of term in, for example, *Régestes* III, #2866, #2463, #2694. *Dispacci* 129.18: “ellecto par questa Comunita Ambassador a la Vostra Excelentia.”

⁷⁷ Eliahu Ashtor, “Ebrei cittadini di Venezia?” *Studii Veneziani* 17-18 (1975-76) 153-156, and quotes Jacoby, 146, that “fidelis” was “pari a quello di un cittadino (non veneziano) di una colonia veneziano, lo status detto ‘burgensis.’” Eliahu Ashtor, “Ebrei cittadini di Venezia?” *Studii Veneziani* 17-18 (1975-76) 153-156, and quotes Jacoby, 146, that “fidelis” was “pari a quello di un cittadino (non veneziano) di una colonia veneziano, lo status detto ‘burgensis.’” “To send our most faithful Bocholi and Bozikē, *capi* of our *stratioti*.” Sathas VII, 23.2.

⁷⁸ *Dispacci* f 66v and 209.39 for 1 February 1482; ff 66 and 209.24, 43 and 210.1, 4, 11, also for 1 February 1482.

⁷⁹ Senato Mar R. 11, f 172r for 11 July 1478 in the proceedings against Marco Salamon. See below. Senato Mar R. 11, f 173r mentions a Greek captain from Nauplion, although it does not name him.

⁸⁰ See the discussion in Petros P. Petris, “Nikolaos Malaksos prōtopapas Naupliou,” *Peloponnēsiaka* 3-4 (1958-1959) 348-375. Also Manolis Chatzidakis, “Les débuts de l’école Crétoise et la question de l’école dite italogrecque,” *Mnēmosynon Sophias Antōniadē* (Venice, 1974) 169-211.

city?⁸¹ This altarpiece was to have five large central figures surrounded by eighteen smaller ones, and a carved and gilded frame.⁸²

Most Greeks in Nauplion did not farm, but made their living from the sea--either from fishing, small trade, or sponge-diving which required months of absence--and all occupations at great risk from pirates.⁸³ Greeks who held or farmed land lived outside the city, subject to regular harassment from Ottoman officials, though perhaps there was more harassment from *stratioti*.⁸⁴ The encounters with Nauplion Greeks that Minio does mention are the two occasions on which he had to impress labor--and on these occasions he impressed the soldiers and labored himself; and the two occasions he called on Greeks to give testimony before Ottoman officials about property lines.⁸⁵ The condition of most Greeks, in or out of town, must have been difficult, and Canon Casola's frankly uncomplimentary remark about those he saw in Methone in 1494 may well describe these survivors of so much war and so many taxes: "Those that I saw, besides that they are Greeks--for they also belong to the Morea--are thin and ugly to look at."⁸⁶

However, there is an indirect hint from a generation earlier that relations between Greeks and Venetians in Nauplion were generally easy. In 1446, the Senato Mar reversed a decision of the previous year permitting Greeks to hold a number of positions previously reserved to patricians. In 1445, a group of Nauplion Greeks with forged credentials had come to Venice with what appeared to be a resolution of the Nauplion council requesting such a decision. The fact that the Senato Mar even considered accepting such a resolution implies that they knew Greek-Venetian relations in Nauplion to be good, or at least that they had no basis on which to deny approval.⁸⁷ It appears that *città* worked out their own social relationships and as long as no complaints were made to Venice, there was no interference.

⁸¹ *S. Athanasius*: Among the relics Canon Casola saw in the cathedral of Methone in 1494 was the head of S. Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, he of the Athanasian Creed. Casola, 193. In 1483, Bernhard von Breydenbach saw the head in the parish church of St. John and Felix Faber saw it in the Cathedral of St. John. It was also seen, the place unnoted, by Arnold von Harff, in 1497. George C. Soulis, "Notes on Venetian Modon," *Peloponnēsiaka* 3-4 (1958-59) 270, 271, 273. Might this be the source of the relics of S. Athanasius now in S. Zaccaria in Venice? The precise location of S. Athanasius' head is not so much the question as is the relationship between it and the cathedral church in Nauplion.

⁸² Chatzidakis, 183ff. The documents are printed in Mario Cattapan, "Nuovi elenchi e documenti dei pittori in Creta," *Thesaurismata* 9 (1972) 223-224; also in Maltezou, pp. 459-460, #6. Five large figures and eighteen smaller ones is a fair description of innumerable Venetian altarpieces of the time--a Virgin flanked by two saints on either side, or a Baptism with three angels, plus assorted putti, worshippers, and background peasants. Paintings by Nicolas Zafuris, or Tzafouris, (d. 1501?) of Candia hang in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Hermitage, the Byzantine Museum in Athens, and the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.

⁸³ *Fishing, trade*: "... salvo el trafego et navegar con i suo grippi," *Dispacci* f 33v and 163.15. *Sponge-diving*: f 36 and 167.2: "multi grippi et barche de questo luogo fuora a trafegar et cavar sponze." Naupliots were sailing as far as Chios for sponges, a two-week voyage each way.

⁸⁴ For photographs, mostly pre-1950, which illustrate in detail traditional farming methods and tools, and suggest the labor and fatigue involved, see *Paradosiakes Kalliergeies*, Benaki Museum Photographic Archives, text by Nikē Belesiōtē (Athens, 1978), where many details can be duplicated in Late Antique mosaics, Byzantine frescos and manuscript illustration.

⁸⁵ *Dispacci* f 19v and 143.20-23, for 5 September 1480.

⁸⁶ Casola, 192. He appears to have meant that some whom he saw were from Ottoman territory.

⁸⁷ Senato Mar R. 2, f 146 for 27 May 1446. The only documentary indication of dis-ease between Greeks and Venetians at Nauplion is the dogal letter previously mentioned when the Roman Catholic bishop caused the problem.

■ The Regimen of a Città in the Stato Mar

. . . *me fo consegnado il regimento di questo luoch* . . .

The role of a *provveditor e capitano* was primarily the military administration of the city and its surrounding land. Governors of Nauplion before the war, and after Minio, were called *podestà* or *rettor*, normal terms for the governor of a commune, and terms which do not necessarily imply military authority, while *provveditor* does.⁸⁸ Minio arrived in Nauplion at the end of one war, on the brink of another, and the city was impoverished and tense. A *provveditor* might command troops in extreme necessity, but otherwise he was to manage the components of defense--whether men, walls, or diplomacy. Minio was responsible for law and order within the city, peace and quiet without, and overseeing--it was hoped--the transition from a war-time culture to one of normality.

Although each *rettor* or *provveditor* going abroad was given a commission, commissions differed broadly according to the circumstances in a particular territory. When Perazzo Malipiero was sent as the first *provveditor* of Nauplion in February 1388[89], almost the whole two-page commission involved the specific steps he was to follow in negotiations to secure Venetian possession of Nauplion, with alternative instructions depending on various circumstances that might arise, and directing him to make use of the resources of other Venetian territories and officials as needed. But he was also given broad autonomy: "If the depot does not want to concede the place, do what seems right to you."⁸⁹ One can see the encrustations of a hundred more years of bureaucratic experience, but in 1485 Francesco Bragadin was similarly told--after stringent warnings of investigations and jail time: "In reality, if for some important reason you feel you cannot obey our instructions, you can without penalty write back how, because of that reason, you will not be able to fulfil our mandate."⁹⁰

In November 1470, Vettore Pasqualigo was given a very different, limited commission to fortify Nauplion. It was wartime and everything took second place to survival. This commission specified that Pasqualigo would have 6000 ducats for the work in two installments; that the Captain General would bring eight galleys for the winter so he would have the crews for labor; that he should stop by Methone to collect *stratioti* for Nauplion; that he should give Belfort 200 ducats for his company; that he should report significant information (this twice); and that he should keep the swords in the armory unless there was a condition of siege ("nisi tempore obsidionis") and the council voted their use.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Thiriet, 184, gives a list of territories with various titles of governors, but it reflects neither the flexibility of titles, nor their use for specific situations.

⁸⁹ Ernst Gerland, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Erzbistums Patras* (Leipzig, 1903) 159-162: "Si despotus loca concedere noluerit facies quod bonum esse tibi uidebitur." Chrysostomides #47.

⁹⁰ "Verum si propter aliquam causam vel respectum tibi videretur non obedire mandatis nostris, poteris sine pena rescribere qualiter propter aliquam causam non potueris exequi mandatum nostrum." Sathas I, 306.

⁹¹ Ploumides, 263-264 for the Latin text. Reports are covered in: "Que tibi occurrent significabis tuis litteris," and "Eris studiosus, significare dominio nostro nova et quaecumque tibi occurrentia." Belfort remained in Greece and served under Minio. Chrysostomides, #55, #156, #230, has the commissions of Victori Mauroceno in 1389, Saraceno Dandolo in 1394, and Filippo da Molino in 1401.

These are short commissions: that to Francesco Bragadin, who went to Methone in 1485 as *provveditor* and *castellan*, runs an exhausting twenty-three pages and is meticulous in the extreme.⁹² After directing him to remain for two years, and commit no fraud, it goes into detail about his subordinates, which were to be paid by Venice and which he will pay from his salary, and how he is to maintain records: “You must write, or have written, in a notebook all events, income, outgo, and expenses,” and these notebooks were to be kept in a chest locked with two keys.⁹³ He had a chancellor to keep accounts and pay out money, but he was responsible for finances, end-of-term accounts, and four-times-a-year accounts, and his dealings were carefully prescribed, from the very specific to the very general. He was to keep a written account of every decision and everything he did that related to Venetian rule. At the end of his term, he was to give duplicate records of all events and expenditures to the Senate and to his successor, and anything he wrote could be used as evidence against him.

Such records were used in precisely that way. Inspectors, syndics, were appointed to visit the cities of the *stato mar* every ten years and go over the *provveditor*’s records with a fine-tooth comb. They had the authority to hear complaints, collect evidence, and administer justice. The year before Minio was elected, one of his predecessors in Nauplion, Marco Salamon was put on trial for embezzlement.⁹⁴ Salamon was charged with--and this during a war--engaging in financial deals with the *subassi* (*subaşı*) of Athens with money supposed to have been used on the walls, and defrauding Michalio Tzaulo in the process; selling his horses to Petro Smorsi for more than the permitted amount; demanding kick-backs from the *stratioti*; and losing goods belonging to Marie Buriano in a business deal in Albania.⁹⁵

Each governor was instructed to take with him a certain number of servants and horses, ages and costs specified, to be paid out of his budget. In fact, given the expenses for and restrictions on a governor, it would be surprising if anyone made a noticeable profit from his assignment.⁹⁶ If missing horses and servants were not replaced within twelve or eight days, respectively, he had to repay the money allotted for them, prorated. Bragadin’s staff was to include: a *socius* or aide who was to be a Venetian between the ages of 25 and 60, paid 20 *soldi* (10 ducats) a year and two “decente” gowns; seven servants; a groom

⁹² ASV Commissioni Provveditori, b 3/52: Commissione à Francesco Bragadin. The commission is in the form of a vellum handbook in beautiful, legible writing, with the cover inscribed “Commissio Magnifici et generosi domini Francisci [Braga]deno Honorabilis Castellani et provisoris Mothoni.” Francesco Bragadin q. Zuanne q. Piero, was about 42 years old and a widower when he went to Methone in 1485. He died the next year. ASV Atti Notai, b 1235/118: Testamento de Francesco Bragadin. Also *Arbori* II.7.149.

⁹³ “Debes scribere vel scribi facere in uno quaterno omnes afflictus, introitus, et exitus, et expensas,”

⁹⁴ Marco Salamon was *rettor* of Nauplion from 1468 to 1471, according to Hopf, 384. Marco Salamon, q. Michiel q. Nicolò, d. 1489. *Arbori* VI.30.528, has him in Nauplion in 1475.

⁹⁵ Senato Mar R. 11, f 121. The various entries concerning the charges against Salamon, and the negotiations over penalties are extremely informative. He was sentenced to six months in prison, which he had already served by the time the case was settled, and to make full restitution of all money. Fragments of information can be teased from his entry in the *Arbori* which suggest that Salamon was somewhat over the usual age to be *rettor* of such a minor city, and had three adult sons. Given the thoroughness of the syndics, he must have realized the risk he was taking.

⁹⁶ Queller, *Patriciate*, 54, suggests that governors in the *stato mar* needed to spend little because of low prices; while on 116, he writes that for governors “ceremonial demands in terms of retinue, horses . . . were extra expenses.”

(who could not be a villein); a veteran (who could not be someone given free housing); and six horses, all of them at least three years old, and one of them a palfrey worth 80 ducats.⁹⁷

A brief annotation on the back of the last page of Bragadin's commission abruptly makes clear the budget issue, and suggests why Salamon risked disgrace by his financial dealings. Juxtaposed with the (presumed) Minio house and later information on the Minio family, it suggests a major reason for the anxiety evident in the *dispacci* because it was inevitable that a *provveditor* would have to use his own money. The note begins, "chastlan et provedador a Modon a de salario alano." Bragadin's budget was to be 800 ducats a year.⁹⁸ The annotation continues:

Xbatto 1/ 4	duc 200
	duc 600
Xbato 40%	duc 240
Resta netto	duc 360

The reduction by one-fourth to 600 ducats was because Bragadin died nine months into his assignment. He was liable for 40% of his salary in taxes.⁹⁹ Thus there was a total of 360 ducats with which to pay the *socius*, the seven servants, the groom, the veteran, and to buy one horse at 80 and the other five horses at 60 ducats each.¹⁰⁰

The *provveditor* of Nauplion--Minio--had a budget of 1000 ducats a year, though he was only required to have four horses; with a 40% tax, he had 600 ducats to work with.¹⁰¹ An early *podestà* was to take an aide, a notary, four servants, two grooms, and four horses to Nauplion.¹⁰² In 1470 the *rector* of "Augusticia" (Aigina, a dependency of Nauplion) had 500 ducats and required to have three *domicellos* and three horses, and in 1472 the

⁹⁷ Sathas I, 289.11-40. Bragadin was given lengthy, detailed instructions about the care, feeding, replacement, and sale of horses. This detailed control of staff was not just a matter of *la bella figura* but was one aspect of the attempt at a controlled economy where employment served as a part of the social services, and not only for the patriciate, and horse-breeding interests could vote. While officials were prohibited from taking another office in the said province for two years after the current term ended, in part, to prevent their developing private political parties, such regulation served as a means for sharing increasingly-constricted state wealth.

⁹⁸ While the word on the back of the commission, and the word in the commission is *salario*, the money was not a personal income but an administrative budget. Sathas I, 287.22.

⁹⁹ The 1485 *Capitula*, valid only for Nauplion, confirmed the taxes on government officials at *30 et 40 percento*, and *el quarto* on the *provveditor*'s salary--a great difference from Bragadin's 40% in the same year--but the taxes were to be sent back to Venice instead of being kept in Nauplion. Sathas IV, 192. These taxes were not always assumed to be paid in full. Queller, 169. Bragadin was given instructions on how to pay back taxes. His budget, or salary, was "salario libras octuaginta grossorum in anno." Sathas I, 305-306. A *libra grossorum* = *lira de grossi* = 10 ducats.

¹⁰⁰ Presumably the staff salaries were decreased by 1/4. Although each new governor was required to buy a certain number of horses, they were not permitted to take their horses back to Venice: it tied up useful transport, and irritated horse breeders. If a governor wanted to keep a horse, he had to buy it for 80 ducats; if he sold a horse to someone else, the price was 60 ducats. This included harness and saddle, and the money went to the *regimen*. Sathas I, 292.18-21; 301.38-40. In Bragadin's case, money was not a problem. His will made generous provision for money and clothes for prisoners and the poor, marriages, firewood and gowns for poor scholars, gifts to nine churches, the *scuola* of S. Marco, his friends, and his daughter. ASV Atti notai, b 1235/118: Testamento de Francesco Bragadin.

¹⁰¹ Ploumides #13 for the salary in 1470; #39 for 1493. Minio mentions his *fameglia*, household, but does not say anything useful about them. The salary in 1394 was set at 700 ducats. Thiriet, *La Romanie*, 194.

¹⁰² Vittorio Morosini, 1389: *Régestes* I, #761. Horses could be sold--at government-specified prices--at the end of term. In 1394, the *podestà* at Argos was to have one notary, two Venetian aides, five servants, two grooms, six horses, and two castellans. Nauplion would have one castellan. Early in its possession of Argos and Nauplion, Venice held the Frankish view of Argos as the superior site; over 80 years, the two cities shared a number of officials. Argos was taken by the Ottomans in 1463.

provveditori of Corone and Mani each had 400 ducats.¹⁰³ Bragadin's budget at Methone in 1485 was 800 ducats: he and another *provveditor-castellan* shared command of the two cities.¹⁰⁴ The larger budget for Nauplion's *provveditor* may be related not only to the improvement in Nauplion's status, but also to the fact that there was one *provveditor* to do the work of two men: earlier, during the civil war of 1454, Nauplion had a *provveditor* with 500 ducats, and a *podestà* with 400, thus allowing for about the same number of subordinates and horses.¹⁰⁵ For all the constant concern in the *dispacci* about money, Minio never quite mentions his own: the closest he comes is to say that if the harvest taxes are not collected, administrative salaries will have to be sent out from Venice.¹⁰⁶

There was to be no hint of exploitation of the Greeks, or undue influence by the *provveditor*. On occasion, the governor might *angarizare* a mule to carry wood from the port *ad palatium*, but villeins, *rustici*, were never to be required to do unpaid labor for his private benefit.¹⁰⁷ He was not to accept a gift of a horse or donkey from a villein, though he might borrow one for essential business for the commune; he was, in fact, to accept no gift from any Greek, villein, merchant, or soldier, unless for the benefit of the commune and in a wartime situation.¹⁰⁸ He could not accept special prices on wheat, wine, meat, chickens, or eggs, but was required to pay the normal price. He could not operate a tavern and sell wine (although he controlled taverns generally and their hours of opening). He could not invest in merchandise until the last two months of his assignment. He could take no profit from his position beyond the sale of his horses, and the prices were fixed for those. He could not marry a woman from the territory during his term of office or in the following year, or acquire for himself or anyone else any landgrants or benefices in the areas under his rule during his time of office.¹⁰⁹

The governor should know his territory intimately. Bragadin was instructed: You are to diligently investigate and know all possessions, honors, freedoms, and jurisdictions individually which . . . were acquired or lost in the time of your predecessors as castellans, and the reasons and means of acquisition or loss, and the possessions, honors, freedoms of jurisdiction of

¹⁰³ Sathas V, 20.12 and 20.33 for 1470. *Délibérations* II, #1550.

¹⁰⁴ Sathas I, 287.22.. *Régestes* III, #3138 for 4 September 1461.

¹⁰⁵ *Régestes* III, #2984 for 30 November 1454. Salaries were calculated to a certain extent according to the status of a *terra* and how much money it could bring in taxes. On occasion a salary was raised to persuade someone to take a post in a situation of danger. Queller, *Patriciate*, 128. An additional factor in setting salaries, possibly the operative one, was the rate of exchange. The official rate set in Venice at the beginning of the century was 96 *soldi* per ducat, a rate that bore little resemblance to the cost of money overseas. Because of appeals from officials who wanted their salaries calculated at the effective rate, salaries were sometimes raised to compensate. Alan M. Stahl, *The Venetian Torneseello: A Medieval Colonial Coinage*. (New York, 1985) 61-62. Thus a salary of 1000 ducats a year at ± 175.5 *soldi* would be a slight advance on 500 ducats a year at 96 *soldi*. [96:500 = 175.5:914]

¹⁰⁶ *Dispacci* f 46r and 182.27-28.

¹⁰⁷ Sathas I, 289.7-8; 291.14-15. Better yet, Bragadin should have his own mule and pay a local to do the work--but not a villein who, presumably, needed every minute of his time to be productive. 289.8-10.

¹⁰⁸ Sathas I, 286.28-29 for sheep, goats, chickens, eggs; 289.2-5, 291.37-42 for mules. Under the Paleologoi, *paroikoi* owed "gifts" and forced sales of animals. Laiou-Thomadakis, 149, 182.

¹⁰⁹ Sathas I, 286.28-39; 291.14-18; 292.13-21, for example. At least half of the 23 pages of the Bragadin commission of 1485 concerns acceptable financial practice. This is also found in the commissions to Victori Mauroceno in 1389 and Saraceno Dandolo in 1394. Chrysostomides #55, #156.

our Venetian dominion acquired or lost during your regimen, and means and reasons, all of which things are to be known through you.¹¹⁰

He should identify property held by local residents in the land bordering on or in Ottoman-held territory, and land held locally by individuals from Ottoman territory, and try to arrange property exchanges so that all territorial land would be contiguous.¹¹¹

New governors already knew the process of command and decision-making: they would have served on some other governor's staff--in one of his first positions, Minio was *consiliere* to the governor of Corfu--and local rule was modeled on that of Venice, where decisions were communal, made in the name of the *comunità*, rather than in the name of a single individual.¹¹² The stability and reliability of the *comunità*, or the appearance of stability, was essential: instructions in 1485 confirm and reiterate decisions made in 1461, or 1400, or 1457, and the frequency of emphasis on written records and traceable information is striking.¹¹³ Cities and administrators had to keep extensive archives: Bragadin's commission requires, "Write or have it written in a recordbook," "a recordbook held by one of the *consilieri* just like the history of transactions by previous supervisors," "recorded as a debtor in his book at the palazzo."¹¹⁴ Minio had the benefit of such recordkeeping *de antiquis curatoribus* of ninety-five years before:

there is authentic documentation in the Chancery, drawn precisely from the original, signed and witnessed by the hands of the Despots themselves, with a pendant seal of gilded silver.¹¹⁵

It is conventional to write that each city of the *stato mar* had a council of Venetian citizens who consulted with the governor, and that a governor could not take military action without the support of the council.¹¹⁶ A council is referred to in the reversal of 1446, as well as in the commission of 1471: in 1525, a *relation* said there was no council. Nothing in the *dispacci* suggests what a "council" might have been, although there was some mechanism by which the citizens and people agreed to send ambassadors and petitions.¹¹⁷ Minio refers to taking counsel with citizens on the territorial boundaries, and

¹¹⁰ Sathas I, 293.32-38: "Diligenter inquirere debes et scire omnes possessiones, honorificentias, libertates, et iurisdictiones per singula . . . et tempore predecessorum tuorum castellanorum fuerint acquisita, vel perdita, et causas et modos acquisitionis et perditionis, nec non eas possessiones, honorificentias, libertates iurisdictiones nostri domini Venetiarum tempore tui regiminis acquisitas vel perditas et modo et causas, que omnia per te cogni,"

¹¹¹ Sathas I, 285.20-26.

¹¹² Corfù: Senato Mar R. 7, f 80v for 27 August 1462.

¹¹³ Sathas, I, 287.24; 300.10; 305.9. If everyone kept all the required records, there ought to be many more survivals in Venetian archives than there appear to be.

¹¹⁴ Sathas I, 284.5, 35, 41; 285.10, 16; 292.36, 293.10, 300.38, 304.42-43: "scribere vel scribi facere in uno quaterno," "unus quaternus tenetur per unum ex consiliariis tamquam memoriale rationum communis de antiquis curatoribus," "notadi per debitori sui libri a palazzo."

¹¹⁵ *Dispacci* f 7v and 126 for 10 February 1479[80]: "nesiste scriptura autentica registrata in questa Cancelleria tratta daloriginal justo sottoscritto et visdominado de man propria dal Despoti cum bolla argenti inaurata pendento."

¹¹⁶ Lane, *Venice, A Maritime Republic*, 99. Alvise Zorzi, *Venice: The Golden Age, 697-1797*. Nicoletta Simborowski and Simon Mackenzie, translators (New York, 1980) 132-135.

¹¹⁷ Commission to Vittore Pasqualigo, November 1470: Ploumides, 264: "Id quod dispensares, sicut captum est in hoc consilio." In 1525, Nicolò Justiniani reported: "De li non è Consiglio alcuno, et perho seria molto utile fusseno del Consiglio almeno 5 cittadini et 6 popolari aciò quando se tratta ve victuarie et altro che a le Rectori paresse haver l'opinion de la terra, se chiamasse ditto numero, perchè hora sono introdutta una mala consuetudine che se chiama da 30 per parte, le qual quando sono in consiglio, et che se propone la materia, ise tira in una camera a parte tra loro, . . . che tre vogliando obtenir una cosa ungiusta, fece sottoscrivere a un

citizens seem to have met, at the very least, on an ad hoc basis--they sat on the loggia that looked from Akro-Nauplion toward the mountains around the bay-- such as the time when they asked Minio to ask the Signoria for a boat:

The *università* has asked me to write Your Signoria on their behalf to ask that you please send here the hull of a medium-sized galley with its rigging.

They offer to arm it in case of need, without cost to you.¹¹⁸

When Zuam Dario reported on his stay in Nauplion in September 1480, he referred to “li Magnificenti rectori di luogi.”¹¹⁹ As mentioned above in the Introduction, Minio wrote of himself as alone, with the exception of the last *dispaccio* of 25 March 1483, when he wrote “nui suo Rectori” and “nui suo proveditori.” Nothing in the *dispacci* offers any clue as to who the other *rettori* might have been. Nor is the connection clear between the council and the *regimen* of the *città* which was to consist of the *rettor* and two councillors.¹²⁰ The Bragadin commission gives a clear description of how the *rettor* was to work with his councillors: any expenditure over 10 hyperpers had to be “with the consent of the councillors or one of them,” as was any gift of communal lands by the governor¹²¹; two of the three--the governor and his councillors--had to be in agreement to imprison a Latin or fine him for more than 25 hyperpers; should one or both councillors be out of the castello, and an imprisonment necessary, the judgment was to be reevaluated on their return; similarly, a judicial sentence could not be shortened without their consent. Although the *dispacci* do not mention *consilieri* at all, *ser Zorzi da Londa* and *ser Francesco de Nassin*, both citizens of Nauplion and fiefholders, seem to have acted for Minio on occasion much as would the councillors described in the Bragadin commission, although they were more likely to have been cooperating with him as citizens were expected to do as a matter of course.¹²² *Consilieri* were usually Venetian patricians sent out with the governor’s staff--it was early training for future *rettori*--but given the fact that Minio emphasizes “essendo solo rector,” he may not have had any assigned to him.

However the system worked, citizens were keen to keep the governor reined in by local custom, and conflicts over this can be detected in the petitions sent to Venice.¹²³ “Local custom” was mostly sacrosanct, and ordinarily--though not always--there was no better way to persuade the Signoria to do something than by including the words “come ab antiquo se observava” or “contro i privilegi et consuetudine” in a petition.¹²⁴ Justice was to be administered to Greeks and Latins alike, but Nauplion did not have the system of *corte*

gran numero de persone, et che è pezo che fu sottoscritto in nome de persone che non sa scriver, come me chiari . . .” *Relationes* 245-246

¹¹⁸ *Dispacci* f 21r and 145.23: “feci chiamar I cittadini”; f 39r and 171.31: “uno giorno sedendo io in loza con molti cittadini.” *Dispacci* f 61v and 203.18-21 for 7 July 1482: “Questa università me ha rechiesto che debia scriver a la V.S. a supplicar aquella per parte sua, che gli piagi mandar de qui uno corpo de galia mezana con i suo corredi; la qual loro se offerisse de armarla in ogni caxo de bisogna senza speza dela V. C.el.” Nauplion had a galley in 1423, commanded by “fidelis noster Manoli Sulina de Neapoli Romanie.” Chrysostomides, #318. ASV Grazie 21, f. 78v. Nauplion was supplied a galley in 1436 after a mission by Giovanni Catello. Sathas II, 429 for 28 June 1436. In 1452, Nauplion was sent an “excellente” galley because they were “homines in re marittima experti.” *Régestes* IV, #2882 for 14 March 1452.

¹¹⁹ *Secreta* R 29, f 151. Dario might have been using a conventional phrase.

¹²⁰ This appears to have been the case in Nauplion, although it is not explicitly stated. See the chart in Thiriet, 214.

¹²¹ Sathas I, 284.19; 285.32: “cum voluntate consiliariorum vel unius eorum.”

¹²² Sathas I, 291.1-13.

¹²³ Sathas IV, 188-189, for 1445.

¹²⁴ “Communal ambassadors found invocation of unwritten custom a favorite tactic in pleading before Venetian magistracies whose grasp of local usage was not strong.” James S. Grubb, *Firstborn of Venice: Vicenza in the Early Renaissance State* (Baltimore, 1988).

minor and *corte major* that some provinces did and, at least in later years, used instead three justices.¹²⁵

Records from Methone show a wide variety of the actions that would have come under Minio's purview, beyond that of the military and diplomatic, and, additionally, give a view of the lives of individuals missing from Nauplion's records.¹²⁶ Decisions by the councillors and *rettor* were announced in the *platea* ("platee") and in the market ("al mercado") by the baliff in Greek and Latin ("gastaldo in griego et in latin"), and introduced by blowing a trumpet ("sonitu tube"): thus the judgment on Marco Salamon was to be "publicetur Napoli Romani."¹²⁷ *Citadini e popolani* might not sell meat on Christmas or Easter Day; meat and skins were to be sold at controlled prices; no work was to be done on any of twenty-five feast days or Sundays¹²⁸; carnal use of a female slave or anyone's servant ("femina schiava over servicial de alguna persona") would be penalized by four months in prison; if a female slave brought a man into the house for carnal purposes, she was to be whipped from the port to the piazza¹²⁹; new oil must not be sold before October; and the enormity ("enormidade") of "horrible blasphemy by those who call themselves Christians" ("orribilmente biastema de quelli se nomina esser cristiani") would be punished by prison or the pillory.¹³⁰

Workers in *stato mar* cities had guilds, and as in Venice, Greeks and Venetians, *citadini e popolari*, were members of the same guilds. The *rettor* and *consiglio* appointed the *protomaistro* of a guild--who could be a Greek--recommended by the members. Guilds, at least in Methone and Corone, included workers in metal, silk, wool, skins, and tailors and ropemakers.¹³¹

The *provveditor* was to be available to petitioners on a reliable schedule: "[you will sit] on Sundays in the morning, and after lunch and on Monday, Tuesday, and Friday in the

¹²⁵ Sathas III, 444.28-32 for 1438 for the selection of three justices. *Tam Grecis, quam Latinis*: Sathas I, 290. *Corte minor*: Sathas V, 215. Justices: it had been petitioned, and was granted, that one of the justices be "de popularibus." Sathas IV, 200.25-201.13 for 1516. Senato Mar, Reg. 18, c. 117. For an account of justice, based on the system in Crete, with little relevance to Nauplion, see Thiriet, 235-243.

¹²⁶ Venetian rule in Methone appears to have been somewhat more repressive than that in Nauplion; certainly, the religious laws were more restrictive, in part, because Nauplion had no Jews. Venice had held Methone for 200 years longer than Nauplion, and many more traits had had time to harden. This hardening was on the part of local citizens through the Methone council, rather than from Venice, although the directive that foreigners not live in the city came from Venice. Sathas I, 296.39-40. The reasons for this have to do with the small size of the city and so the shortage of housing, as well as for the security of Venetian shipping and information. Greeks, Jews, gypsies, and Albanians were not allowed to live in Methone either.

¹²⁷ As these laws are written in Italian, that is certainly what is meant, rather than Latin. The Bragadin commission uses "latinum" to refer to an Italian. Sathas I, 291.3; 296.18-20. Sathas IV, in *Statuta et Capitula* for Methone: 34.8-10; 71.30; 179.20; 181.6-7. The *gastaldo*, Nicolò de Janina, named often in these *statuta* apparently had his job for at least sixteen years. Each city also had a *tubator* on minimal salary. Chrysotomides, #311, mentions Nicola of Corone with four ducats a month; Venetian custom, however, tended to think of ten payments a year rather than twelve. See also N. Iorga, "Documents sur les villes de Coron et de Modon," *RHSEE* 12, nos.4-6 (1935) 155. Salamon: Senato Mar R. 10, f 171v.

¹²⁸ Sathas V, 26, 87, 108, 145. Work included pressing olives, winnowing grain, digging, soaking fiber for rope, washing clothes, or transporting goods within the city.

¹²⁹ What this means is dramatically illustrated in the spectacular air view of Methone in *Ellenismos*, 282, where the street from the port to the piazza is the longest straight distance within the walls. It would, of course, be assumed to be the street with the most observers. This picture is also available on the web site <http://www.culture.gk>.

¹³⁰ Sathas V, 73, 179, 180, 18.

¹³¹ Sathas V, 184-186.

morning, and any other days that you think necessary.” Should there was a “iusta occasione” when he was not able to hear petitions, his councillors were to be available “on Tuesdays and Thursdays in the morning and after lunch, and Saturdays in the morning only to go to the chancery at the hour of the bells.”¹³² Should a decision be found unsatisfactory or insoluble, appeal could be made to the Signoria.¹³³

The *dispacci* indicate that when someone went from Nauplion to Venice on appeal, it almost inevitably concerned a problem for which Minio had already made extended requests for funds. With the exceptions of Marco Catello, Pulimeri’s mission to ransom slaves, and the town’s request for a galley hulk, all of the appeals Minio mentioned involved matters of military payments. Minio’s competence as an administrator may be suggested by the absence of any suggestion of complaint against him—other than by the *fanti* mentioned earlier who had a history of rebellion. This absence of evidence in the *dispacci* is in itself fairly reliable evidence because Minio had to give a permit to any citizen of Nauplion or any non-Venetian Italian who wished to travel to Venice, and in his letters of explanation or introduction, he inevitably requested a sympathetic hearing. Minio wrote a letter for Marco Catello when he was elected by the *commune* of Nauplion to carry a petition to the Signoria, a role his family served for at least five generations:

Ser Marco Catello, a citizen of this territory, elected by the Commune as Ambassador to explain their needs as is seen in a memo for you. He is recommended, requesting that you will deign to give him a willing hearing and swift solution.¹³⁴

¹³² Bragadin commission, Sathas I, 290: “dominicis in mane et post prandium, et in diebus lune, mercurii, et veneris, in mane, et etiam aliis diebus quotiens videris expedire”; “diebus martis, et Jovis in mane et post prandium, et diebus Sabati in mane tantum ire in cancellarium hora campanarum.” This updates the 1447 rule from Methone: “ogni marti zuoba et sabado da maitina.” Sathas IV, 172.

¹³³ And sometime the Signoria ended up having to pay for the expenses of making a petition: “Et ex nunc captum sit che per auctorita de questo Consiglio siano donati ducati xx per cadaune de li dicti tre Ambassadori de Napoli de Romania, constituiti in maxima poverta azo i possino partirse de questa nostra citade.” Senato Mar R. 16, f 110 and Sathas IV, 200.10-12 for 1506.

¹³⁴ *Dispacci* f 9r and 129.15: “ser Marcho Catello, citadin de questo luoch, ellecto per questa Comunita Ambassador . . . per exponer i suo bisogni como appar per uno aricordo a lui dato; il qual recomandando . . . supplicando in quella si degni prestari benigna audientia et celere expeditione.” This petition does not appear in the Senato Mar register. A Michele Catello bought a house in Nauplion in April 1357; the deed was witnessed by a Piero de Medici, thus indirectly tying Nauplion to Gautier de Brienne’s earlier rule in Florence. See Anthony Luttrell, “The Latins of Argos and Nauplion: 1311-1394,” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 34 (1966) 50. A document of Guy d’Enghein of October 1376 refers to “Marco et Nicolò Catello nostro Thesauriero d’Argues [Argos].” Hopf, 241. In 1397, Nicolò Catello was give power of attorney to seize property, and in 1400, he was captured by the Byzantine ruler of Mouchli. Chrysostomides #194. Sathas II, 14. According to Thiriet, the Catello privileges were granted by Guy de la Roche, Duke of Athens (1287-1308), and included exemption from the wax tax, which Venice observed. *Régestes* II, 1473. Some of the Catello family had married Greeks or had themselves become Orthodox: Ὁκταβιάνοϛ Μρόνοϛ ἐποίησε πρῶτον πρωτοπαπᾶν Ναυπλίου παπᾶν Ἰωάννην τὸν Κατελόν: “Octavio Bon [the *rettor*] made Yanni Catello *protopapas*.” *Short Chronicles*, 234 #31 for June 1405. Another Orthodox Catello a century later: in 1526, Zuan Catello from Nauplion was a member of the Scuole di S. Nicolò dei Greci in Venice. Antōnē D. Pardos, “Alphabetikos katalogos tōn prōtōn melōn tēs Ellēnikes adelphotētas Benetias apo to katastiko 129 (1498-1530) I,” *Thesaurismata* 16 (1979) 339. In 1424, Michele and Gregorio Catello, sons of the late Leone, were charged with trying to murder their brother, Giovanni; the next February, Giovanni was elected to take a petition to Venice. *Régestes* II, 1963, 1969; Sathas III #853, #854. In 1436, Giovanni was the commune’s ambassador to petition Venice for a galley, while as late as 1451, Giovanni and Michele were ambassadors to Venice. *Régestes* III, 2416, 2866. Luttrell, 54 n148, n149. In 1522, D. Nicolachi Catello was an ambassador to Venice. Sathas IV, 220.

Antonio Marinato of Padua, whose personality comes through strongly in the *dispacci*, carried a petition to the Signoria for the *fanti*:

The brave Antonio Marinato of Padua is one of the *contestabili* here. From him I have outstanding service with complete obedience and a willing spirit. I must recommend him to Your Signoria. So I ask that when he presents his commission, you will deign to give him a willing audience, and in this reasonable request he will make, that Your Signoria will be pleased to receive him as recommended.¹³⁵

Nauplion's *oratores*, emissaries, took a petition to the Senato, which responded with a *Capitula* of 5 September 1485. This is a valuable document, revealing a number of Naupliote problems, particularly with its military population, and suggesting solutions. Although the specific issues of the petition do not appear in the *dispacci*, they must have been problems for Minio in his term. Given the length of time it took the *Senato* to respond to an appeal, and that for this decision Minio's end-of-term report was in hand--and he was in Venice--his influence can surely be seen in the signorial responses to *quella povera comunità* who suffered the *angaria* of having soldiers quartered on them.¹³⁶

Four: we remind Your Most Illustrious Signoria that the magnificent syndics imposed a tax of 1% in all of the Levant, which was never accepted or paid anywhere except by your most loyal *comunità* of Nauplion. Because the money was completely dissipated in fighting the Turkish enemy, and as we said before, we do not own anything except our houses and sometimes even those are commandeered and taken from us by your soldiers. And so may it please Your Excellencies that our citizens thus treated, put out of the said houses, can collect the said tax, so that they can be indemnified for the rent they should have received from the said soldiers who are lodged in their houses so that this poor *comunità* can be relieved from such exaction and confusion.¹³⁷

Another *angaria*, the *vardie* at the city gates was unfairly assessed: this seems to have been a citizens' guard originally begun because of the 1463-79 war, but one that had become a source of bullying and corruption. It was requested, and granted, that the guard be paid employment instead of an *angaria*.¹³⁸ A final request concerned the prices of fresh and

¹³⁵ *Dispacci* f 25r and 150: "Fra questi constestabili . . . se atrova il strenuo Antonio Marinato da Padoa . . . ne ho optimo servitio cum ogni obedientia et animo prompto . . . me astrenze de recommandarlo a la V. S. Unde supplicco a quella, che alo exhibitor dela presente suo comesso, per degni prestar benigna audientia, et in le cosse honeste hara a domandar per parte sua a Vostra El. gli piage haverlo per ricomandato." See Chapter Two, p. 95, and Appendix 6.

¹³⁶ Sathas IV, 193.1.

¹³⁷ Senato Mar, R. 12, ff 60v-61r, and Sathas IV, 192-3, "*Quarto*, ite rechiedemo a Vostra Illustrissima Signoria cum sit che per i magnifici Sindici . . . apparse metter un datio in tutte le terre del Levante, zoe uno per cento, el qual datio no ha voiudo alguna delle altre mostre terre acceptar ne observar: solum la vostra fidelissima comunità de Napoli, e questo perchè fo dessipade, e tutte desfatte per i nemixi Turchi et non havemo altro come us supra dixemo excepto le nostre caxe, et quelle mai non le havemo al nostro comando perchè vien angarizade e tolte per le vostri soldadi . . . E però . . . che i nostri provedadori cittadini messi sopra le ditte caxe posanno vender e scuoder ditto datio, acciocchè del detto datio possiamo pagar el fito dele caxe che alozano ditti soldadi per insir quella povera comunità de tanta angaria e confusion." These soldiers must have been *ballestrieri* and *fanti*: *provisionati* and *stratioti* lived in their own camps or on their land. The problem of quartering soldiers was never satisfactorily resolved, and came up again in 1506. Senato Mar R. 16, f 108-110 and Sathas IV, 196.

¹³⁸ Senato Mar R. 16, f 108-110 and Sathas IV, 193, *Quinto*. Latin *angaria* from ἀγγαρεία, drudgery, chore,

salt fish, and octopus, *folpe*: the citizens suggested an increase in fish prices that could be put toward the cost of houses for the soldiers, or for the salary of the guard.¹³⁹

Additionally, the Signoria reconfirmed its action of June 1445, incompletely enforced over the course of the war, which stated that taxes collected locally would be used there to pay the salaries of local officials.¹⁴⁰ The officials listed for Nauplion in 1485 were *provedori*, *camerlengi*, *cancellieri*, *scontro de la camera*, *interprete*, *castellan*, *medego*, *capellan*, *armiraglio*, *duo piaceri*, *veteran*,¹⁴¹ *castellan de conseio*, six *provisionadi* for the *Magnifico Provveditor*, and the *patron de greppo*--most of these positions were to be for Naupliots.¹⁴² Whatever money remained after paying their salaries--most of whom would supplement their income from fees paid by those who used their services--was to be used for maintaining the city's walls and administration buildings. This decision was clearly influenced by Minio: it was one about which he had written the Signoria two and a half years earlier: Nauplion had uncollected taxes, and the land-holding *stratioti* insisted that they were exempt from the *zamoro*, a tithe of their farm produce, and the *somazo*, a tax on food brought into the city for sale. Minio wrote:

If Your Signoria will concede the *stratioti* the said *zamori* and tax of the *somaza*, which is the main income for the camera, wanted to pay your *rettori*, chamberlains, and other employees here, it will be necessary for you to send money to pay them.¹⁴³

That year, 1481, the sale of the taxes of the *zamori* and *somazo* each brought 2200 *perpers* at auction: 880 ducats for the *camera*.¹⁴⁴ It is difficult to get a sense of how much money could have been expected in the *camera*: information from 1527-29, the only period for which financial information exists for Nauplion at all, suggests that a total of 47,858 *hyperpers*, or 3190 ducats, was collected annually.¹⁴⁵

from Classical Greek ἀγχαρεία, ἄγχαρος, mounted courier; from Persian via Herodotus, Book 8.98: "The Persians call this course of horses ἀγχαρήιον." Because the petition refers specifically to ten guards, this may refer to the assignment of ten men Minio made when he first arrived in Nauplion to monitor the weapons of visiting Turks (see above). However, those guards were specifically sent out for that duty, and were paid.

¹³⁹ Senato Mar, R. 12, 61v and Sathas IV, 193, *Sexto*. *Folpe*: *polpo*, octopus, common in Nauplion's waters. Disconcertingly, the Signoria was not able to express an opinion on the fish.

¹⁴⁰ *Capitula* of 1445, Sathas IV, 187; *Capitula* of 1485, Senato Mar, R. 12, ff 60v and Sathas IV, 191-193.

¹⁴¹ *Veteran*: this is just what it sounds like. As part of the Venetian social security system, various organizations and local administrations were required to support craft masters, veterans, and others, over the age of 55 out of administrative budgets. Frederic C. Lane, *Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1934) 76-77. Bragadin was required to have on his staff "unum presbiterum venetum." Sathas I, 289, 15-16. The system is roundly criticized in Queller, *Patriciate*, 32-43.

¹⁴² These are, being interpreted, the governor, town treasurer, archivist, accountant, interpreter, castellan, doctor, chaplain, port authority, 2 officers of the peace, veteran, council guard, 6 mounted guards for the governor, and the man responsible for the Nauplion boat. These positions offered certain opportunities, as in Ploumides #11, where the Senato Mar declared that Nauplion's *camerarius* was not entitled to a tenth of the loot acquired by the *stratioti* and he was to return what he had claimed. Capellan: The *rettor* in 1491 was instructed to make use of the local Franciscans. It is possible that this was an advantage for them. Canon Casola described the Franciscans in Methone as "poor and even more than poor." Casola, 193. Ploumides, 265 #s 38-39. *Relationes* 251.36, for 1529, when there was a *cappellan* on the payroll for the 25 men guarding the Castel di Scoglio.

¹⁴³ *Dispacci* f 45r and 182 for 8 November 1481: "Se la V.S. concederà a essi stratioti i ditti zamori et el datio del somazo che è la principal intrada de queste camera, vogliando pagar i vostri rettori camerlengi et altri salariadi de questo luocho, sera neccessario a quella de mandar danari deli per pagarli."

¹⁴⁴ Another time, Minio calculated the exchange in Nauplion, so that 1 *hyperper* = 5 ducats = 20 *soldi*. *Dispacci* f 26v and 152.31 et seq.

¹⁴⁵ *Relationes* 250.37; 251.41-44. *Stratioti* taxes are discussed in Chapter Two.

Few of the officials on the 1485 list appear in the *dispacci*, although it frequently refers to the *cancellier*, and the *camerarius*, or *camerlengo* who was responsible for finances, tax auction and collection, reports, and payouts, and the relevant record-keeping.¹⁴⁶ As mentioned before, Minio early got on bad terms with his *camerarius*, *miser* Iosepho Lion. The utter poverty of the Nauplion treasury and the demands on it, beyond the official salaries, cannot have made their relationship easy. Once such demand involved Matheo and Damian Andromida, *contestabili* in Venetian service who had lost their Moreote landholding to the Ottomans. The Nauplion treasury was directed to pay them a *provision* of six ducats a month, to support themselves, a servant, and two horses. Similar arrangements were made for Petro Frossine *miles* in 1482.¹⁴⁷ Another drain--minor, to be sure, but money was so tight--was a *turciman* who arrived to translate for a conference but who had not been given expense money. Minio paid a quarter-ducat a day to support him, his servant, and their horses--a marginally better allowance than for the Andromida brothers--for the six weeks before the conferees arrived.¹⁴⁸ Minio had to provide a house and living expenses for Zuam Dario and Sinan Bey when they came for the boundary settlement, and to give Sinan Bey, a "gift" of "30 in 40 ducati" to ensure an acceptable outcome.¹⁴⁹ Every time the *flamburar* of the Morea came to Argos, it was politic to make some kind of present--eight "arms" of cloth, sugar, silvered almonds, wine, and it meant another expense for the treasury. Various citizens contributed to these gifts, in cash or in kind--this taken for granted as a tax on the apparently wealthy.

Minio frequently mentioned his *cancellier*, a Naupliot resident, to whom he was fiercely loyal.¹⁵⁰ The *cancellier* was bilingual, in Italian and Greek, and apparently skilled in Turkish. The cancellier had served as *collateral* (paymaster) for the troops in Nauplion for at least four years. This was a much-desired position as a *collateral* could expect, in addition to his salary, a legal kickback from each wage paid out. But in the two years since the end of the war, the *provveditor* of the Fleet had made changes in military contracts, and his *cancellier* had taken over the collateral job--and the back pay--Minio's cancellier should have had. Protesting this injustice, Minio said that his *collateral* was losing forty-five ducats, the work of four years ("mancha le fatiche suo de anni quattro"). This was not an

¹⁴⁶ Thiriet, 219, says that the *camerarius* was sent out from Venice. In the *dispacci*, *miser* Iosepho Lion is a patrician: many members of the extensive Lion family appear to have been permanently resident in the *stato mar*.

¹⁴⁷ Senato Mar R. 11, f 57v for 28 January 1479[80] Senato Mar R 11, f 137v for 19 March 1482: "Que quidem provisio eis solui debeat per cameram nostram Neapolis Romanie sicut patri soluebatur." Frossine had testimonials from the Captain General, the former *provveditor* of the Morea, and "aliorum plurimorum nobis attestatum est" to his worth. "A month" worked out to 10 payments a year.

¹⁴⁸ *Dispacci* f 3r and 120-121; f 8r and 127.21. Possibly there were specified government rates for such circumstances. This is 91 1/4 ducats a year, a useful figure as it is in the upper range of salaries for skilled workmen in Venice. Reinhold C. Mueller, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice The Venetian Money Market: Volume 2, Banks, Panics, and the Public Debt, 1200-1500* (Baltimore, 1997) Appendix I.

¹⁴⁹ *Dispacci* f 18v and 141: "de farli un prexente da 30 in 40 ducati, a caxon che la cosse de la Vostra Signoria succedano bene, pero chel ha piena liberta de partir i confini de tutti i luogi . . . come gli piacera." Local citizens had already had a whip-around to make gifts of about 100 ducats for Sinan Bey.

¹⁵⁰ This position had been specified as one of those reserved for patricians. Thiriet, *La Romanie*, 217. Nothing in the *dispacci* supports or contradicts this, but Thiriet's take on *cancelliers* gives an impression quite different from that in Minio's reports: "Aussi le Chancelier était-il un des personages les plus importants du *regimen*: choisis par le Grand conseil de Venise parmi les citoyens originaires de la cité." Senato Mar R. 11, f 51r for 1478 gives the position of *cancellier* to a citizen of Negroponte, not a patrician.

excessive amount, but one that could decently support a family for more than a year--except that most of his family had been enslaved at the taking of Negroponte in 1470 and he had two daughters to marry.¹⁵¹ Additional income for the *cancellier* should have come from writing letters and providing legal papers to the mercenaries: he lost the payment for this service which he had done on credit, as the mercenaries had been waiting for four years to collect their own pay.¹⁵²

Minio reported much illness ("per le malatie usano al presente in questa terra, son molti de loro amalati") but made no mention of a doctor, a usual position.¹⁵³ It is an indication of increased Venetian interest in Nauplion that the office of *castellan*, abolished in 1445 to save money, was restored in 1485, and certainly a sign of Minio's impassioned arguments that Nauplion was also given a *greppo* for use in construction. Nauplion usually had an *armiraglio* who was the customs officer, port authority, and pilot.¹⁵⁴ In 1493, the *armiraglio* was paid 25 ducats a year: presumably he collected fees for his services.¹⁵⁵

A comparison of the two *capitula*, from before and after forty years of scarcity and war, with the *dispacci* gives the impression that in the war years much routine had gone by the way, as well as personnel and financing, and that Nauplion had been somewhat ignored even in the ordinary course of events. The 1445 *capitula* shows posts being cut because of the financial strain on Nauplion whose citizens were responsible for the salaries. The *rettori* had given posts to "the commons and foreigners, which is unjust and also against the gentlemen of the place, as from antiquity" ("popolari e forestieri, la qual cosa essendo iniusta et anche contra Zentilhomini del logo, come al antico"). *Popolari e forestieri* could have been paid lower salaries, but the gentlemen were feeling the same financial pressures as were their compatriots in Venice and political alignments in Venice were played out in the provinces.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵¹ *Dispacci* f 26r and 152.9-12. At the defeat of 1470, the *cancellier* had managed to escape, but his wife and sons had been sold into slavery: "... la moier et fioli prezi da Turchi per schiavi, i qual con grande affanno et amaritudine a possuto scampar: eli e romasto do suo fiole in mani da maridar." Such a person and circumstances, although not this particular man, can be identified in a series of actions by the Senato Mar to help petitioners who survived the fall of Negroponte in 1470. Nicolo Zorzi q Francesco lost everything and his sister was taken captive: he was given a job and money to try to ransom her. "Fidelissimus noster" Manoli was given a provision of 7 ducats a month. Most like Minio's *cancellier* is "fidelis noster" Nicolaus Cambri who was given the position of *collateral* at Lepanto. Senato Mar R. 11, ff 33r, 50r, 51r, 65v, 104v give examples of similar circumstances.

¹⁵² *Cancellieri* had stringent restrictions on what they could, or should accept, and were prohibited from investing in merchandise locally, buying land, or collecting taxes. They could be fired in the colony if "non bene facerent eorum officium, sicut deberent." Sathas I, 293. Possibly this *cancellier*'s ten years of government employment had some effect on Senato Mar rulings: in 1485, if not sooner, it was specified that no *cancellier* was to have any local office until two years after the end of the previous one. Sathas I, 289.

¹⁵³ *Dispacci* f 18r and 141.6-7 for 5 August 1480. Ploumides #39, #58, 1: the Greek doctor appointed in 1493 was to have an annual salary of 50 ducats. Maistro Panthaleo, in 1503, was to have 48 ducats. At Corone in 1457, Maestro Giovanni Michiel de Belluno was to have 100 ducats. Régestes III, #3037. Methone, in 1485, had "unus phisicus et unus cyrugicus," Sathas I, 297.5-9.

¹⁵⁴ *Armiraglio* also appears as *amiragio*, *ameraglus*, *admiratus*, and a dozen other spellings. Cortelazzo, 7. Senato Mar R. 11, f 173r for 21 April 1479 mentions "Alvisio pilotho veneto patrono fuste Neopolis," probably the *amiraglio*. An *armiraglio* or one of his underlings guided Canon Casola's ship between Methone and Candia. Casola, 321. Then and now, Nauplion is a port easily silted, with large submerged boulders along the coastline.

¹⁵⁵ Ploumides, 266.

¹⁵⁶ This *capitula* falls just in the period between 1442 and 1450 when a large number of positions were being created for nobles who "depended upon public office to eke out a meager living." See the critical discussion

The 1445 *capitula* shows that Nauplion experienced serious disruption from a number of *casi nuovi*, recently arrived in the area in comparison to “such houses as have always served,” “tal casi sempre si ha servado,” and who apparently had the support of the *rettor*.¹⁵⁷ Hostilities between the old families and the new arrivals caused “the greatest inconvenience and prejudice against your poor citizens,” and “are ruining the most notable city the Levant has.”¹⁵⁸ The Signoria, which might have been expected to come down solidly for law and order, was evidently caught in similar tensions and made a tight-mouthed response:

Let it be replied that we desire this to be arbitrated by our *rettori* whom we send there for the purpose of ruling the cities and citizens for our honor and state, and we hope that they do and will do their duty.¹⁵⁹

It was reported in 1445 that the *cavalieri* of the *rector*, along with the *fioli grandi* of these new families were “committing a thousand wrongs and ribaldry at night” (“de notte facendo mille cattivitate e ribalderie”). The *zentilomeni* asked the Signoria to hire *signori di notte, e zusteri*. The Signoria said that “we do not want to make any innovations about this” (“nihil circa hoc volumus innovare”), always a useful comment, and Nauplion did not finally get paid police until the *capitula* of 1485.¹⁶⁰ Whatever the original source of political tensions, Nauplion was not the only city in the *stato mar* to have suffered from privileged testosterone. Bragadin’s 1485 commission forbids his sons residing or investing in his territory during his rule: this was a usual instruction.¹⁶¹ Further, if any of his children over the age of 16, either sons or daughters, did anything forbidden to him, he was liable for their penalties.¹⁶² Should Venetians in the territory behave badly (“qui male fecerint”), such as those *fioli grandi*, he was to admonish and correct them--a useful way for the Senato to avoid those innovations that might directly offend one of their members--and if they did not improve, he could impound their goods and send them on to Venice.¹⁶³

There were other and more subtle disruptions. In 1445, a Greek delegation to Venice, claiming to represent the citizens of Nauplion, asked that certain positions reserved

in Queller, *Patriciate*, 32-33.

¹⁵⁷ The response to the *capitula* was made in June 1445, so the appeal will have been sent earlier. Recent *rettori* were: 1441, Giovanni Loredan q. Daniele; 1442, Giovanni Soranzo q. Tommaso [at Argos]; 1443, Lodovico Baffo q. Lorenzo (el. 23 giugno); or 1444, Benedetto Contarini q. Luca (el. 21 giugno). Hopf, 383. Loredan’s rule seems too long before. As the Contarini and Sorazano families were among the *case vecchie*, the supportive *rettor* was most likely Lodovico Baffo. Stanley Chojnacki, “In search of the Venetian patriciate: families and factions in the fourteenth century,” in John R. Hale, editor, *Renaissance Venice* (London, 1973) 78n19. Such disruptions by *fioli grandi*--Chojnacki calls them “noble boys”--were a great problem in Venice, in 1443 and after, particularly at meetings of the Great Council. Stanley Chojnacki, “Political adulthood in fifteenth-century Venice,” *The American Historical Review* 6 (1986) 795, 803.

¹⁵⁸ Senato Mar R. 2, f 87v and Sathas IV, 189: “Grandissimi inconvenienti in pregiudicio dei vostri poveri cittadini” and “ruinada la più notabil città che havesse Levante.”

¹⁵⁹ Sathas, IV, 188.44-189: 188.20-22: “Respondeatur quod volumus ut hoc sit in arbitrio nostrorum Rectorum quos illic mittemus pro regendis illis civibus e civitate nostra ad honorem et statum nostrum et speramus quod faciant et facient debitum suum.”

¹⁶⁰ For 1445, Sathas IV, 189.41; for 1485, Senato Mar, R. 12, ff 60v-61r and Sathas, IV, 191.34. This information about *signori di notte, e zusteri* is particularly interesting to find in 1485, as in the same year, the castellan of Corone was given permission to fire “quingenta quatuor custodes qui de nocte faciebant custodiam” in the interests of saving money. Sathas I, 296.11.

¹⁶¹ On the manuscript of Bragadin’s commission, this paragraph is marked, however, Bragadin had no sons. ASV Atti notai, b 1235/118: Testamento de Francesco Bragadin.

¹⁶² Chojnacki, “Political Adulthood,” 804 n63.

¹⁶³ Sathas I, 292.22-24, 41-44-293.3. Another reason for such a ruling was to prevent officials from sheltering their sons from service in the Italian wars by taking them overseas.

for Latins be opened to Greeks. The Senato granted this and the Greeks left, only to be soon replaced by the official Nauplion delegation. Early the next year, after receiving a letter from the *rettor*, the Senato wrote reversing its decision, directing that the Greeks be punished as an example.¹⁶⁴ The particular positions are not mentioned in the action for reversal, but the fact that the Senato would accept such an assertion from Greeks at all suggests that Nauplion was a city less class-bound than other cities in the *stato mar*, and that Greeks were known to participate in Nauplion government. It also suggests that government in a *stato mar* city could be structured as least as much by the residents and citizens, as by predetermined Venetian requirements. But this is a single, unexplained case and it may be too easy to conclude too much from it.

Although the position of translator (*turciman*, OT: *tercüman*) was mentioned in the *capitula* of 1485, Minio himself did not have a staff translator, and it appears that this position may often have been cut to save money.¹⁶⁵ There was in Nauplion, after at least 400 years of Venetian residence, a large pool of bilingual and even trilingual citizens, as is evident in the *dispacci*. Customarily, this post of translator was to held by a Venetian citizen, trained in languages, appointed, and sent out from Venice, and Minio does make reference to such a professional, though from what he says, it was not a particularly enviable position.¹⁶⁶ In January 1479, “el turciman del Magnifico imbassador,” the translator for the ambassador, had been sent to translate negotiations over territorial boundaries with the *flamburar*; he waited more than six weeks to translate during one week.¹⁶⁷

This particular negotiation was a special event, under direction of the Sultan: at other times local citizens of the colony translated for Minio as needed.¹⁶⁸ Zorzi da Londa went on missions to the *flamburar*. Francesco de Nassin led “molti cavalli de stratioti” to protest a raid; another time, Minio supplied him with written notes and arguments; on a third occasion, he had to bear the *flamburar*'s indignation because Minio had not come himself.¹⁶⁹ Minio gave one Ottoman *turciman* a gift of 2 ducats: though he does not mention

¹⁶⁴ Senato Mar R. 2, f 146 for 27 March 1446 gives no specific information beyond stating the fact of the delegation and authorizing a reversal. Thiriet, 401 and n4. *Régestes* III, #2717 for a summary.

¹⁶⁵ *Relationes* 246.15.

¹⁶⁶ Thiriet, 217, also: “Les fonctions de l’Interprète n’était pas moins importates que celles du Chancelier. Dans ces territoires de langue grecque . . . l’assistance d’un interprète était indispensable.” Thiriet’s account does not completely fit Minio’s description of the actuality: Minio and Zuam Dario had a Greek assigned as a translator for one situation, and accounts from both suggest he was less expert than he should have been. See Chapter Three. When Barbarigo was trying to manage the war, he was taking whomever he could get as interpreter. A local Venetian wrote and interpreted in Greek, “per che in verita se scrive molto piu in grecho, cha in latin,” and he had to hire “do zoveni . . . per truzimno e per scriver in grecho,” and again “un zovene che sappia scrivere et intenda grecho per mandare in diversi lochi ad fare monstre.” Barbarigo 20.41; 3. 27; 21.11-12. Later letters from Zuam Dario indicate that he used his translator to run errands for him, and he and Greek-speaking *pašas* managed for themselves.

¹⁶⁷ *Dispacci*, f 3r and 120-121 for 10 January 1479[80]; f 8r and 127.21 for 10 February 1479[80].

¹⁶⁸ Citizens with such abilities were almost certainly merchants. The prime example of a provincial citizen with such language skills is Zuam Dario, already mentioned and given considerable space in Chapter Three. Dario, a non-noble, Venetian resident of Crete, spoke Greek fluently and seems to have had some ability in Turkish.

¹⁶⁹ Zorzi da Londa: *Dispacci* f 50v and 188; f 63v and 106. Francesco de Nassin: *Dispacci* f 4 and 121-2; f 6r and 125; f 28r and 155. Sathas IV, 206 refers to his company of 25 *dacieri* of 1499; a Piero da Londa of Nauplion, also with *dacieri*, is mentioned in the same passage. A Franco da Londa was Nauplion's *avocato fiscal* in 1536, and in 1539 Manousos da Londa was given a pension of 20 ducats a year for killing several Ottoman military officers. Ploumides #102, #121. In 1541, a Francesco de Nassin led a band of “Albanesi et

reciprocal gifts, it can be assumed that staff translators did receive them on occasion.¹⁷⁰ Olivoto de Cavopena, another Turkish speaker, took the flamburar a message and a gift of silvered candy.¹⁷¹ Dominico Gardassi, a capo who “sa ben turcheso” interpreted for Minio’s last conversation with Süleyman Bey, Ottoman governor of the Morea.¹⁷² Süleyman Bey sent a message “a bocha” to Minio by a Nauplion citizen to let him know another new flamburar was arriving momentarily, and Minio sent as his emissary Nicolò Cacoyanni, “capo de Stratioti de qui, homo intelligente ed esperto Grecho,” who had been go-between on several occasions.¹⁷³ On other occasions, Minio’s hard-pressed un-named *cancellier* and *uno cittadin* interpreted.¹⁷⁴ The loss of this staff position was perhaps a war-time economy (although complaints later from Zuam Dario may mean that there just weren’t enough Turkish-speaking Venetians), but the number of Naupliots able to speak Turkish well enough for negotiations provides an informative view of the pragmatism of local relationships and of the merchant enterprise.

The *dispacci* provide infinitely more information about the *fanti*, *ballestrieri*, *capi*, *stratioti*, *provisionati*, and *contestabeli* whose presence increased Nauplion’s population by 2,000, and made Minio’s life so difficult.¹⁷⁵ Most of the time, there appear to have been about 300 Italian *fanti* in and around the city of Nauplion, and another 1500 *stratioti* in the territory, none of them officially engaged in acts of war on behalf of the Signoria. A question that comes constantly to mind when reading the *dispacci* is: what did they *do*? In a few instances, Minio reports that he has been using various groups of *fanti* to build walls, or to gather brushwood for fuel for the lime-kiln, or to take messages. Some were assigned to guard the city gate, others guard the island castle, and a few were sent on occasion to guard Thermissi. Once, four went to warn Thermissi and Castri of a possible attack; at other times a hundred or five hundred men rode out with him to meet the flamburar, and frequently as many as a third were dying or levanting, but there is little impression that their time was particularly consumed by military responsibilities. Antonio Marinato owned a fast boat that would have needed at least two dozen men to row, but there is no information about the other Italians. Most *stratioti* would have been working the lands they owned east and south of Nauplion, lands assigned in lieu of salaries, like the janissaries stationed at Argos. Other *stratioti* supplemented their non-existent salaries with fishing, petty trade in the Morea, or possibly a little piracy. If soldiers were expected to organize additional sources of food and income, this may be why Minio is careful to give soldiers sent to the Castello del’Isola “ad custodia di quella, diurna et nocturna” extra rations.¹⁷⁶

Greci” that included a Lodovico de Nassin q. Zorzi, Dimitri Catello q. Zuane, Nicolò Alberto q. Antonio. Sathas VIII, #CCCLXXVII for 3 December 1541. Senato Mar R. 26, ff 66-69.

¹⁷⁰ *Turciman*: translator (OT *tercüman*). *Dispacci* f 7r and 126.11-12 for 10 February 1479; f 57r and 197.1 for 24 April 1482

¹⁷¹ *Dispacci* f 67r and 210.34-38 for 25 March 83. Olivoto de Cavopena was a member of the family that had formerly owned Aigina.

¹⁷² *Dispacci* f 68v and 212.26 for 25 March 83.

¹⁷³ *Dispacci* f 66v and 209.39 for 1 February 1482; f 65r and 208.7 for 11 January 1482; f 66 and 209.24, 43; f 66v and 210.1, 4, 11, also for 1 February 1482.

¹⁷⁴ *Dispacci* f 55v and 195.10 for 23 March 1482; f 68v and 212.26-7 for 25 March 1483

¹⁷⁵ The various *stratioti*, *fanti*, *ballestrieri*, and their *capi* are discussed in Chapter Two.

¹⁷⁶ *Dispacci* f 43v and 177.36 for 8 October 1481, Marinato’s *fusta*; f 36v and 167 for 16 June 1481, the *somazo* on produce. *Dispacci* f 5 and 123.21-23 for 29 January 1479; f 1v and 118.12-13 for 12 November 1479; f 27r and 153.11 for 12 February 1480; f 1v and 118.20-21 for 12 November 1479; f 18v and 185.36 for 13 December 1481. *Janissaries*: *Dispacci* f 22v and 147.23 for 19 December 1480.

■ Building the Lower City

. . . senza le qual non se pol lavorar . . .

Upon Minio's arrival in Nauplion on Monday, 8 November 1479, *miser* Leonardo Diedo formally consigned to him the *regimen* of *Napoli da Romania* and left with the galley almost immediately.¹⁷⁷ Minio arrived with his plans and expectations and obligations, and immediately learned that nothing resembled what he had been promised.

His report on his arrival, written his fifth day in office, lays out the situation he encountered, and sums up most of the problems of his forty-two months in Nauplion. All the problems he enumerated he would write about again and again, because most of the solutions were totally dependant on money being transmitted by the Senato Mar, and the Senato Mar had little money and less will for spending it on the *stato mar*.¹⁶¹

First: he expected to find the storehouse full of grain. Upon election in February, he had arranged for 3000 *stere* of grain to be shipped to Nauplion.¹⁶² The Venetian military, like the Greek and Roman, very nearly survived by bread alone: at least half the military pay was calculated in wheat. Minio's grain arrived before he did, in May,¹⁶³ but *miser* Lunardo Diedo had been handing it out with some regularity, having given the most recent pay of grain on the 7th, ensuring great appreciation toward himself and later resentment toward Minio. The 500 *stere* remaining was in bad condition, and not enough to supply requirements for two months. Realistically, had the other 2500 *stere* not been paid out, it too would have been in poor condition, but Minio was aware of the usefulness of perceptions, as well as the dangers in not living up to the contracts: "And so again and again, I beg and urge Your Signoria to send here grain, grain, and grain" ("Unde iterum atque iterum prego et exorto la Vostra Signoria, se de qui proveder de formento, formento, et formento").

Praeterea: when he made the *mostra*, he found only 170 *page* ("pays," men), all of them in poor condition physically, as well as their equipment, and not a hundred of them useful. He needed at least 300. The *balestrieri* needed their pay which had not come from Crete.

Uterius: Where the Signoria had been informed that the city was completely fortified and the lower land walled, it "lacks most of what you intend, and needs extensive

¹⁷⁷ The newly-arrived *provveditor* was to report "literis significare diem introitus tui," and Diedo was ". . . similiter reportare literas a successore tuo de consignatione regiminis, exituque tuo." Sathas I, 302.14-16. Also in the Bragadin commission: it appears that his salary stopped on the arrival of his successor. Sathas I, 288.10. Nothing is said about the retiring governor's staff who, presumably, saw their salaries stop, too.

¹⁶¹ *Dispacci* f 1r-2r and 117-119, for 12 November 1479. Most of this information is supplemented in the succeeding letter, f 2r-v and 119-120 of 29 December 1479. The new governor was to report on the condition of the food stores and defense he inherited from his predecessor. Sathas I, 284.

¹⁶² A *stera*, *staia* equals 63 kilograms of wheat or 1 cubic meter of grain. Minio's orders from the Senato Mar directed him to leave immediately or pay a penalty of 1000 ducats. The penalty could be imposed by the *advocatores* of the Senato Mar without further direction. However, Minio did not leave until late summer and there does not seem to have been any fine, so presumably the *advocatores* were able to exercise great discretion. See Appendix 2.

¹⁶³ Minio had originally expected to arrive in Nauplion about that time.

construction along the sea, as well as the land.” Nothing had in fact been done towards the fortifications since Zaccaria Barbaro’s term (1473-1477) which had ended only two years ago: it appears that de Priuli and Diedo had glossed their activities far beyond what was warranted by the evidence. Of the 180 *passa* of the land side, only 50 *passa*--on second thought, 40 *passa*--had been walled, to a height of 8 *pie*. With this information, his concern for the *terraglio* becomes more understandable: “the *terraglio* at the gate of the land is the whole fortification, that part being open,” because the lower city was essentially defenseless on the land side.¹⁶⁴

Minio asked for “a master builder, because it is necessary to build the foundations on piles in the water, and in this territory there is no *maestro* who knows how to build such foundations to be found.” In the next letter he added, “come se fa a Venetia.”¹⁶⁵ He estimated that he needed a thousand planks to get started. And money, *el nerbo principal*--he kept calling it this--because the Nauplion treasury was nearly empty.¹⁶⁶ Minio was not the first to suggest the need for such construction. Whatever his own ideas about Nauplion, certainly one of the first things he had done was to read the records of his predecessor, Cristoforo de Priuli, who had already proposed such a plan. A year before, on 9 November 1478, the Senato Mar recorded:

Our *rettori* at Nauplion ask for a master who knows how to build a foundation in the water and make pilings, as is done in Venice. There is no master with this experience in foundations.¹⁶⁷

The Senato Mar voted unanimously to send such a master engineer to Nauplion, but nothing came of that first plan as de Priuli died immediately after, and then there had been the flurry over the peace settlement, and then Minio was elected to the assignment.

Postremo: the *maran* he had specifically requested, for transporting stone and sand for the planned construction, had sunk.¹⁶⁸ No one in Nauplion knew how to raise it, and even if someone did, there was no money for repairs; and if there were money, neither carpenter nor wood was to be found locally.¹⁶⁹ He ended the letter abruptly, but with

¹⁶⁴ *Dispacci* f 1v and 118.26-27: “molto manco de quello la intende, et bisogna de gran fabriche si da mar, como da terra;” and f 2v and 119.27 for 12 November 1479: “il terraglio dela porta de la terra, dove consiste tutta la fortificatione . . . essendo quella parte aperta.” Also f 13r and 134.22-23 for 29 April 1480. *Relationes* 245.

¹⁶⁵ *Dispacci* f 1v and 118.29-30: “Uno protomastro murer, pero che bisogna far la fundamenta con palli in acqua, et in questa terra non se trova algun maestro che sapia far tal fundamenta.” See John McAndrew, *Venetian Architecture of the Early Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA., 1988) Appendix A, 550-551; also Fig. A-1.

¹⁶⁶ *Nerba*: while this can mean nerve, backbone, or sinew, the *nerba* is also the narrow board fitted to the sides of a gondola which maintains the curve. See Sathas IV, 176-177, for a Methone law requiring “i nervi di buo et bufali” to be kept for “maestri ballestrieri et arcieri” and not sold outside the *terra*.

¹⁶⁷ Senato Mar, R. 10, 193v: “Rectores nostri Neapolis Romanie petunt unum magistrum qui sciat facere fundamentum in aqua et figere palos, ut Venetiis consuetum est . . . et nullum magistrum habet ad huiusmodi fundamenta expertum.” Notice that *rectores* here is plural where a year later Minio was writing of himself as “essendo solo rettor.”

¹⁶⁸ A *maran* was a broad-bellied (like all Venetian craft, to have a shallow draft) transport ship for bulk cargo and troops transport, originally made in Istria and used to bring building stone and firewood to Venice. Like most Venetian ships, a *maran* had a life expectancy of ten years. By 1479, Venetian *marani* were at least ten years old: their construction had been banned since 1469. Frederic C. Lane, “Shipping during the Commercial Revolution,” *Venice and History: Collected Papers* (Baltimore, 1966) 8. A *maran* was large enough to transport 40-50 horses. Barbarigo 48.11 for 19 September 1465.

¹⁶⁹ Nauplion always had to import wood for work on boats. See Sathas III, #656 for 1415, ordering cypress from Crete to repair the Nauplion galley.

appropriate humility. Six weeks later, he explained a little more about the *maran*, just enough to make his opinions clear: “the *maran* sent for the construction, because of the negligence of those previously responsible, was allowed to sink to the bottom.”¹⁷⁰

Despite his disappointments, he got right to work, and at the end of December he reported that he, “con il nome de Dio,” had given his attention to the *scarpa* of the curtain wall on the Castello dei Franchi and for this they were burning stone to make lime for the cement.¹⁷¹ He wanted to build a scarp for the *terraglio*, which had to await the master-builder because it would be in the marsh, and *caxamata*, casemates, for cannon at the corner of the wall. At the end of January and again on the first of March--New Year’s Day, he wrote again about the construction, repeating the December letter almost exactly, giving the same order for supplies and workmen, stonecutters. The 500 ducats originally supplied him for construction, sent out before he arrived, were nearly gone.¹⁷² He continued to harp on the sunken *maran*:

It is impossible to work without a *maran*, and when we want to do it with these *grippi*, it causes great trouble to these poor mariners, who cannot bear it.¹⁷³

He must have reflected bitterly on the fact that, when a recent predecessor, Vettore Pasqualigo, was working on *his* building project, *he* had a famous architect at his side, 6000 ducats, and the crews of eight galleys over a whole winter working on the very handsome walls and double tower that now bore the Pasqualigo coat-of-arms.¹⁷⁴ And at the other extreme, Minio was now having to make up for the work left undone when another predecessor, Marco Salamon, took money that should have been spent on construction and invested it illegally.¹⁷⁵

In April, the Senato Mar gave orders for two stonecutters, *lapicide*, to be sent to Nauplion, but he would not see them for a while.¹⁷⁶ When he had received nothing of his requests by mid-April, he tried a new tack:

And at one-third the cost of what was done in the past, because at present, it can be done with more calm and economy than what was done in wartime.¹⁷⁷

hoping the suggestion of economy would help. But this was not the only construction to be redone: the vaunted new Fortezza del’Isola--”the safety and the ruin of this city” (“la salute e la ruina de quella cita”) was nearly worthless because when the sirocco blew, the

¹⁷⁰ *Dispacci*, f 2v and 119. 39-40: “el maran deputato a queste fabriche, per negligentia de quelli che havuto el governo per el passato: e lassato andar a fundi.”

¹⁷¹ *Scarpa*, a slope or scarp added along the base of a wall for support. Minio’s *scarpa* can be seen along the north side of the Castle of the Franks and Toro.

¹⁷² *Dispacci* f 5v and 124 for 29 January 1479; f 11v and 132 for 1 March 1480.

¹⁷³ *Dispacci* f 11r and 132.6-8 for 1 March 1480: “et senza maran no se pol lavorar: et vogliando far con questi grippi se da tanta angaria a questi poveri marinarij che non la pol portar.” *Grippi* are small lateen-rigged boats with one sail, manageable by two or three men, for fishing and trade, like contemporary *caïques*.

¹⁷⁴ Ploumides 363-364 for his commission dated 15 November 1470. Vettore Pasqualigo served from 1471-1473. The shield is visible on the transverse wall of Akro-Nauplion: VP and 1473 are highlighted in black paint.

¹⁷⁵ Senato Mar, R. 10, f 171r-172v.

¹⁷⁶ Senato Mar R. 11, 68v: “Lapicide necessarij ad fabricam et fortificatonem dicti loci quomodum requirit provisor ille noster”; also, Ploumides 265 #35.

¹⁷⁷ *Dispacci* f 12v and 134 for 17 April 1480: “et con el terzo mancho dela spexa dequello sta fatto per il passato, pero che al presente se fara con piu reposso and sparagno dequello esta fatto in tempo dela guera.”

combination of wind and heat made the water deep, “so that where there was less water there is more than four *pie* (4 1/2') so that not only *fuste* but even galleys can come up.”¹⁷⁸ It was essential to build an underwater barrier, *purporora* or *porporella*, to prevent hostile ships from approaching and control the entrance to the harbor. He went on to discuss the land wall, of which there was only 40 *passa*, 200 feet, and repeated his order for equipment. The conclusion strikes all the notes on which he had rung and would continue to ring changes:

Send an engineer with two stonecutters, 1000 white pine planks, a *maran*, and especially money . . . without a galley it is not possible to work. Your Signoria will most wisely dispose as it pleases you.¹⁷⁹

Early summer brought new crises. The Venetian *bailo* of Constantinople and the Genoese governor of Chios wrote to warn Minio about Ottoman fleet movements: ships were grouping to go to Valona for the assault on *Puglia*. Meanwhile, troops from Asia Minor had crossed the isthmus, taking the cannon from Corinth, and there was a call-up of Ottoman troops in the Morea. A Naupliote who had passed through Gallipoli had counted forty ships in the straits. Nauplion lay in their path. The *stratioti* and *fanti*, except for a few catif ribalds, enemies of God and Our Signoria” (“*excerto alcuni pochi cativi ribaldi, inimici de Dio e de la Nostra Signoria*”) volunteered to work on the *terraglio*. Although a third of his soldiers had levanted for want of pay, Minio rode out with the remaining horsemen in the fullest array they could muster, leaving behind the *ragazzi*, and made a demonstration of Venetian will to be noticed by Ottoman officials. When Mineo learned that the Ottoman fleet had reached Negroponte, he brought people from the countryside within the new walls, and armed the *cittadini* and *popolani* with spears from the armory.¹⁸⁰ In the wake of the fleet, there was a flurry of pirate raids on coastal trade and shipping.

Everyone was hungry: the concentration of people inside the walls, and hunger and summer heat contributed to long and debilitating illness:

Also, because of the illness at present endemic in the area, many of them are sick, and most will die from disease and lack of money, as I do not have one *soldo* I can give them. I have not written Your Sublimity for many days during my illness, because I have been in bed 22 days, and was almost at the end, at the Heavenly Gate. At present, thank God, I am restored to health. I don't have any news around here worth mentioning.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ Sanudo III, 398. *Dispacci* f 12r and 134 for 17 April 1480: ““per modo che dove e mancho aqua sono piu de quatro *pie*, sicche non solum *fuste*, ma etiam galie pol andar.” *Fuste* are oared ships, smaller, narrower and faster than galleys, and with a shallower draft. The light galleys had a draft of 3 ½ to 4 ½ feet, larger galleys up to 7 ½. Lane, “Naval Architecture, about 1500” *Venice and History*, 166; originally published in *The Mariner's Mirror* 20 (1934) 24-49. The island castle is said to have built by Vettore Pasquaglio, 1471-73, but Senato Mar records for August 1474 show that *magister* Antonio Zacharia was to go to Nauplion to evaluate fortifications for the island, and that in September 1474, the *provveditor* was to be sent 1000 ducats for the project, with a suggestion that he might have more. Nauplion was identified as “quella terra Importantissima al Stado nostro de Levante.” Senato Mar, R. 10, ff 15r, 16r, 19v, 23r.

¹⁷⁹ *Dispacci* f 13r and 134 for 17 April 1480: “. . . mander uno inzegner, con do taiapieri, tavole d'albedo in fina 1000 . . . uno *maran*, et danari sopra tutto, . . . et senza *galia* no se pol lavorar . . . Vostra Signoria . . . sapientissima dispona como gli piace.”

¹⁸⁰ *Dispacci* f 15v-16r and 137-138 for 21 May 1480; f 16v and 139.28-38 for 1 June 1480.

¹⁸¹ *Dispacci* f 18r and 141.6-22 for 5 August 1480: “etiam per le malatie usano al presente in questa terra: son molti de loro amalati: e la piu parte muor per desasia et mancamento de danari che non ha uno soldo de poterli subvegnir. . . Io no ho scritto za fa molti giorni a V. Sub. per la inconvalescenta mia, pero che sono stato in letto zorni 22, e son andato quasi fin ala porta: al presente gratia Dei ison risanato. De nuovo: da alcuna parte

The Ottoman and Venetian negotiators arrived in early September, before he was well, to settle the dividing line: an issue all the more important because there was no compulsion on the Ottomans to negotiate at all, despite what was written in the peace accords. After that, any wall-building was catch-as-catch can. There was a long and disruptive visit from the *provveditor* of the Fleet, and the Kladas revolt in the south which triggered a supporting revolt among *stratioti* stationed at Nauplion and threat of all-out war in the Morea.¹⁸² So it was not until February, that he was able to get back to the construction work, at which point he received word from the Captain General that he had actually been assigned the galley captained by his brother-in-law, Piero Trevisan, to help--but then a last-minute emergency had required his services elsewhere. He needed boats, of any kind, to transport *piere, sabbion et legne* for the construction. He had hoped for a galley--he begged for a galley.¹⁸³ A galley would not only provide transport, but its 150 or so oarsmen could be used as laborers, sparing the need to use his own underfed soldiers or to impress the locals. And he could get the work done for a third of the cost required by the same work in wartime. He finally wrote the Captain General:

Just now, because I did not have a galley assigned to me, I had to call up all the *grippi* in the territory, and impress all the citizens, people, *stratioti* and soldiers, and I in person with them, to transport brush with all the mules in the territory and on the *stratioti*'s horses, in order to burn stone for lime. This *angaria* is a serious matter for this poor land, and I really have compassion for them, but the necessity made me do it.¹⁸⁴

It is a striking view of the scarcities around Nauplion and the necessities of leadership, as well as of an individual who when compelling hard labor from villeins, soldiers, and citizens, would work with them *de persona*.¹⁸⁵

The Greeks did not forget Minio's compassion, or pragmatism. A history published in 1631 muddles together various episodes over the fifty years between 1473 and 1525, but it contains these provocative lines:

At that time, the governor of the place, that is, the Venetian, with all the people of Nauplion, did all the building, and built the walls around, just as they appear today . . . and the governor of the place, the Venetian, gave benefits and many gifts to the Christians who came from outside and built in Nauplion, and gave this gift.¹⁸⁶

no habiamo cossa alcuna degna de signification.” See Appendix 4 for the full letter. Almost certainly, Minio and the soldiers had malaria. A dysentery would have killed him faster than the 22 days mentioned, although the encampments also suffered from a compromised water supply and inadequate sanitation, along with the malaria. A person may have malaria present in the system with no particular symptoms: it can be activated by stress, fatigue, or illness. Where it is endemic, a third of the population will be affected in any one year, with an upsurge late in the summer. (J. Lawrence Angel, *The People of Lerna: Analysis of a Prehistoric Aegean Population* (Princeton, 1971) 79, says 45% of adults.) Martha J. Stewart, MD, specialist in Tropical Medicine discussed malaria with me.

¹⁸² The dividing line will be discussed in Chapter Three, the revolts in Chapter Four.

¹⁸³ Minio had the Nauplion archives, in which he would have found documents confirming that Nauplion had been assigned galleys in the past. For example, Sathas I, 117, for 1415.

¹⁸⁴ *Dispacci* f 27r and 153.9-14, for 12 February 1480: “In fina hora per non haver galia, me ha romanato angarizar tutti i grippi de questa terra, et appresso tutti questi cittadini, popolari, Stratioti e soldati: et io de persona con loro afar portar brusche con tutti i somieri di questa terra et sopra i cavalli de i Stratioti per far brusar una calcara de calcina, la qual angaria è sta grave a questa povera terra, che certo ne ho compassion, mala necessità mi la fa fare.”

¹⁸⁵ Soldiers were not to be exempted from an *angaria* “nisi propter infirmitatem.” Sathas I, 296.21-22.

¹⁸⁶ (Pseudo-)Dorotheos of Monemvasia, *Biblikon Historikon*, in Hopf, 239: Τότε ὁ Ἀφέντης τοῦ τόπου, ἤγουν ὁ Βενετζιάνος μὲ τὸν λαὸν ὅλον τοῦ Ἀναπλίου, ἔκαμε πᾶσαν οἰκονομίαν, καὶ ἔκτισαν τριγύρου τὰ τεῖχη, καθὼς

It is, of course, possible that other Venetian governors of Nauplion gave benefits and gifts to the Greeks, and may even have worked with them. However, enough of Minio's concern for the Naupliots, his willingness to consult with the Greeks about matters that affected them, and his loyalty to those under him emerge in the *dispacci* to make it quite possible that the Greeks remembered what he considered the heavy burden of the *angaria*, "la qual angaria è stata grave" as benefits and gifts *εὐεργεσίας καὶ χαρίσματα*.¹⁸⁷

He wrote the Signoria about the incident, explaining that the failure of the *maran* to arrive--supposedly sent five months earlier--had required the *angaria*. He was discouraged and angry, justifiably so, because at Methone (admittedly in the path of the Ottoman fleet bound for Apulia), the Signoria had spared no expense for new walls, fortifications, and a forty-foot-wide moat cut through rock, while fortifications were being rushed through at Corfu. He wrote the Captain General, "I did as much as I could" ("Facto quanto ho possudo").¹⁸⁸ Meanwhile, at Nauplion, the four hundred ducats given him last fall by the *provveditor* of the Fleet were nowhere near what was needed for the sea walls. The *maran* continued to fail to arrive. He begged again for a galley: if he could be lent a galley, he would be through with it in twenty days.¹⁸⁹

The *maran* did arrive at the end of February, after six months on the way and it was in such poor condition that it was useless. He wrote more letters about a galley. At the end of April, he wrote the Signoria that the *maran* could be turned upside down and put into usable condition if he had materials for repair, and ordered another 1000 white pine planks because "the 500 that were carried on the *maran* in poor condition are almost used up" ("le 500 che portò el maran mal condictionato presto sarà consumate") in making *ponti e zattera*, a boat bridge. The same day, he wrote the Captain General, almost with satisfaction, that, because of the continuing boat problems, it had been necessary to *molto engarizado* the men and boats for work on the walls.¹⁹⁰

The Captain General was perfectly capable of reading between the lines: Minio, and the Signoria, had made no secret of their opinion that the *provveditor*'s ill-judgment bore much responsibility for the unrest in the Morea. The rebels were still at large, avoiding Ottoman and Venetian forces, receiving clandestine support from Greeks and Albanians all across the Morea, and the whole combination could hardly have had more potential for

φαίνονται ἕως τὴν σήμερον . . . καὶ ὁ Ἀφειντῆς τοῦ τόπου ὁ Βενετζιάνος ἔδωκεν εὐεργεσίας καὶ χαρίσματα πολλὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ὅπου ἤρχονταν ἀπὸ ἔξω καὶ ἐκατοικοῦσαν μέσα εἰς τὸ Ἀνάπλι καὶ ἔδωκε καὶ ταύτην τὴν χάριν. Gerola, 368n3, cites Hopf with minor differences. Pseudo-Dorotheos has long been used as a source for the building of Nauplion, but his statement, more than 125 years after the fact, that there was no building at all outside the walls of Akro-Nauplion until 1502 cannot be substantiated in view of Minio's *dispacci*, the will from 1405 (ASV Atti notai, b 24/f2) and various reports in Sanudo III about the city during the Ottoman assault of 1500. The physical evidence of buildings on the hill contradicts him. It is not likely Dorotheos ever saw Nauplion: his remark that, before the lower city was built, the sea came to the base of the walls of the castles of the Greeks (τὸ Ῥωμαϊκόν) and the Franks, is impossible. Because of the sparseness of Greek documents for the Venetian period, Greek historians tend to give Dorotheos more credence than is appropriate. See also Lamprynides, 78-79. Lamprynides lived in Nauplion and should have allowed his experience to override literary authority.

¹⁸⁷ By Minio's account, *angarias* in Nauplion are extraordinary events. Sathas I, 300.20. The later Byzantine tradition usually called for 12 *angarias*, though there were variations. Chrysostomides, #207 and notes. Laiou-Thomadakis, 181-182.

¹⁸⁸ Magno 225.1-3: "In questo anno fu messo la cittade de Modon in grande fortezza, et taiado fu el fosso nel sasso, et meso fu in isola, et seguito fe fortificar la cittade de Corfu."

¹⁸⁹ *Dispacci* f 27r and 153 for 12 February 1480; f 29v and 156.20-25, 41-46 for 19 February 1480; f 33v and 162.35-40 for 30 April 1481.

¹⁹⁰ *Dispacci* f 31v and 159.40-160.7 for 4 March 1481; f 32r and 160.17-23 for 14 March 1481; f 32v and 161.26-35 for 30 April 1481.

disaster. The Ottomans could easily use ships at the attack on Otranto to attack Venetian ports in the Morea, and the Greeks in Nauplion might themselves revolt, particularly since spring weather had brought on a spate of piracies in the gulf and down the eastern shore of the Peloponnesos, all apparently committed by a single *fusta* with forty-one men. Minio had copious archives in his *cancellaria*, a hundred years of local Venetian archives, not to mention those from the previous rule, and he knew every paper in them. So he was aware of the order from the Signoria of 1424 to the effect that Naupliots were exempt from *angarias* of labor; and that if labor was required, they were to be paid for it. There was another document, too, which said, “our citizens, who are free, must not be aggravated or troubled for services,” which Greek and Latin citizens must have known as well as he.¹⁹¹

The Captain General read well. Twenty days later, just enough time for an efficient messenger to take Minio’s letter to Lepanto, and for a highly-motivated *sopracomito* to sail from Lepanto around the Morea to Nauplion, Costanzo Loredan arrived to help with the construction. Minio’s migraine recovered immediately, especially when he saw that Loredan had managed to capture the pirates, and was towing their *fusta* behind him. The pirates were imprisoned on Akro-Nauplion, and then a merchant arrived whom they had robbed and who could swear out a complaint. Loredan was to stay until Piero Trevisan arrived, and they could make good use of the *fusta*, but they still needed money for material.¹⁹²

It was never meant to be. Three days later, on 24 May, Rinaldo Mezola rushed in from Thebes with information he had learned in secret from someone just arrived from Constantinople: Mehmed II was dead, there had been riots in Constantinople, and Christians, Jews, and “Franks” had been massacred. There was nothing but for Loredan to sail for Venice with the news.¹⁹³ The disappointment was too much for Minio: he wrote the Captain General: “With tears in my eyes, I let the said galley leave here. But the importance of the matter forced me to do it.”¹⁹⁴

Between the rebels and the *stratioti* who were about to rebel, summer was difficult. Piero Trevisan did finally arrive the first of August.¹⁹⁵ Minio did finally have the use of a galley, he had a working *maran*, he had the oarsmen for labor, and he had professional stonecutters. He just didn’t have any money, and he was still waiting for the master-builder he had requested twenty months earlier (the master-builder approved nearly three years earlier) so he could build walls along the marsh. Still, the remaining sea walls were completed by 22 August, beginning on the western end with the curtain wall which followed the western steep of the hill from Akro-Nauplion to the water’s edge and the Porta de Forno. They then followed along the north side of the land along the water’s edge, walling in the piazza as far as S. Nicolò where the land became marsh, and it was necessary

¹⁹¹ Sathas III, 278.35-38; 444.16-20: “nostri fideles, qui sunt franchi, et liberi, non debeant aggravari, nec molestari pro serviciis,”

¹⁹² *Dispacci* f 34v-35r and 164.22-165.4, for 20 May 1481.

¹⁹³ He need not have bothered. Venice had the news by 29 May, five days after Minio did. *Secreta R.* 30, 29 May 1481. Setton, 363 n32.

¹⁹⁴ *Dispacci* f 34 and 163.30-164.20 and f 35 and 165.15-32 for 24 May 1481: “Io con le lacrime ali ochi lasso partir dita galia de qui. Ma per la importantia de la cossa me e forzo de farlo.” Presumably, Nauplion at least had a *fusta* of its own now that it had the pirates’ ship.

¹⁹⁵ Piero Trevisan q. Silvestro q. Nicolò, b. 1442?, d. 1525?; third of eight sons of Silvestro Trevisan (d. 1470) and Francesca Molin q. Marino to reach adulthood. He was first elected *sopracomito* in June 1477, and also in December 1484. In March 1487 he was mentioned as “consul noster in Londoniis.” *Senato Mar R.* 10, f 126r; R. 12, ff 27v, 107r. His name occurs with some frequency in *Senato Mar* records.

to build with pallets or piles (“È necessario butar fondamenti cum palli”).¹⁹⁶ This, with the wall on the land side, meant that more than three-quarters of the lower ground was walled to a height of *do passa*, 10 feet, and the part with the marsh at least had some protection from the marsh. Piero Trevisan had to leave, and Minio thought with satisfaction of the report he would make to the Signoria. Much had been accomplished with the aid of the galley, and he had demonstrated that the work only cost one-third-of the wartime cost, just as he had promised.¹⁹⁷ He was, perhaps, given permission to put up the Minio coat-of-arms, a band of lozenges and a cross, on the sea walls. Piero Trevisan, “mio cugnado,” must have come back to Nauplion because on 5 October Minio wrote that Trevisan had brought money to pay the *stratioti* and 300 ducats for construction.¹⁹⁸

In October 1481, sixteen of the *fanti* were at Spetsai, cutting wood needed for burning stone to make lime, when they were attacked by pirates, and taken as slaves. They had taken the *maran* with them to transport the wood, and this *maran* that had caused Minio so much trouble disappeared with the pirates.¹⁹⁹ He sent men, accompanied by a guard, over to Paleocastro to take stone for construction: stones there had been cut to size 3000 years earlier and could be reused without mortar.²⁰⁰ The galley had not arrived and the stonecutters were still waiting in November. It is a comment on Nauplion’s poverty and provincialism that, even with all the stone about and stone nearly the sole building material, stonecutters still had to be imported. It is also an indication of the shortage of labor, and inability to pay for labor, that most work was dependent on volunteers, or crews of visiting galleys. It is conventional to think of poverty as a concomitant of surplus labor, but in Nauplion too many people were working too hard to make use of too few resources to provide adequately for themselves while paying Venetian taxes.²⁰¹

The stonecutters were waiting at the end of March 1482 when the Captain General stopped by to borrow “una bombarda grossa” for Santorini; he said he would be back soon to help with the work on the *porporella*. The *porporella* was designed to prevent ships from approaching the island too closely, except by a particular path, which necessitated the *amiraglio* or pilot, and would block approach to the harbor for all but one ship at a time.²⁰²

¹⁹⁶ *Dispacci* f 38v and 170.11-20 for 22 August 1481: “It is necessary to build foundations on pallets.” The extant part of this curtain wall appears to have been built quickly and with rubble fill, much of it sherds of Byzantine ceramics. The speed of building can be attributed to the extreme steepness of the slope where it is impossible to stand without holding on to something. A short section of the wall can be seen along the side of the garden of the Hotel Othōn. Another short section of the wall ran behind my two-hundred year old house: the wall and house were destroyed in the 1980s. A third section of the wall is barely visible facing the outdoor stairs of a house identified as “the house where the Schliemanns stayed” when excavating Tiryns. The line of the sea wall from S. Nicolò west along the waterfront and up the hill is shown on Schaefer, Map 1, which gives an indication of the development of the shoreline since that time.

¹⁹⁷ *Dispacci* f 38v and 170.32-33 for 13 September 1481.

¹⁹⁸ *Dispacci* f 42r and 176.2-4 for 8 October 1, 1481.

¹⁹⁹ *Dispacci* f 44r and 179 for 10 October 1481; f 46 and 182 for 8 November, 1481.

²⁰⁰ Paleocastro, which he also calls Castelazzo, is Homeric Tiryns. *Iliad* 2.559. Its walls protected a town through late antiquity and much of the Byzantine period. *Dispacci* f 67r and 210.42. *Relationes* 251.32-33. A small Byzantine church was inside the walls in Minio’s time.

²⁰¹ Pepper (45) says that all the Venetian provinces had been losing population in the 15th century, contrary to the Mediterranean trend of a population increase. It is not clear to me how this relates to the intense crowding in the cities. But surplus labor was fairly irrelevant if there was no money or food available with which to pay them.

²⁰² *Dispacci* f 55r and 194.24-5 for 24 April 1482. It was a long wait for the *porporella*. It was not until 1515 that the Signoria decided on its completion. Sathas V, 213. Pepper, 37 and n25-27. A petition of 1515 granted

After this, *dispacci* about construction fade away. Finances were always a problem, and the Signoria was increasingly involved with matters in the *terrafirma* and the Ferrara war. Despite the intensification of piracy in the area, Minio had developed such good relationships with Ottoman officials in the Morea, and the new Sultan, Bayezid II, had made such convincing overtures of accommodation to the Venetians, that the fears which had driven the early construction were no longer present. Still, he wanted to do his job, or perhaps the construction had taken on its own meaning and at the end of May 1482, he wrote:

If Your Magnificence should have some money to spare for the construction, I would like to use it for this poor place, because I can only do on the construction what I can.²⁰³

After Minio's term of office, construction in Nauplion was directed towards filling in the marsh and building in the lower city.²⁰⁴ In 1484, an engineer, Bartolomeo da Vicenza, "ingegnier espertissimo et exercitatissimo," was assigned to supervise construction.²⁰⁵ Work on the walls was still incomplete in 1499 when, anticipating a major Ottoman assault, the Signoria poured men and money into repairs and building, and the *provveditor* of the time wrote: "There has been construction at Nauplion for 34 years now, and work on various projects."²⁰⁶

by the Senato includes the lines: "una barcha carga de bone piere sopra la porporella del predicto Castello, da esser butado dove per lo armiraglio sara cognosciuto esser piu bisogno." "A boatload of good stone on the *porporella* of the said *castello*, to be put where the *armiraglio* thinks it most needed." Sathas IV, 213.22-24.

²⁰³ *Dispacci* f 60v and 201.31-33 for 24 May 1482: "Se per caso V.S. havesse qualche danaro de raxon del fabrica, i voglia participar con questo povero lucho, perche nel fatto dela fabrica fazo più de quello me è possibile. Etc."

²⁰⁴ It was possibly because of Mino's influence that the Senato in 1485 agreed to send "un inzenier, do taiapiieri, polvere de bombarda, spago da ballestre, saietame, veretoni, badilli, zaponi, mazze varie, pali de ferro, tavole agudi d'ogni sorte in quantità, cuni de ferro cum le folgie chiave de travamenta e uno maran" and "Bartolamio da Vicenza inzenier espertissimo." Senato Mar, R. 12, ff 60v-61r, printed in Sathas IV, 192.18-26.

²⁰⁵ Gerola, 372. Sathas IV, 192.

²⁰⁶ Sanudo III, 1311: "a Napoli a fato fabriche, è anni 34, e operato in varie cosse." In preparation for the attack of 1499, the marsh was defended with a palisade, as shown on the Camocio map published ca. 1571, included here as Fig. 1.

■ CHAPTER TWO ■

■ The Military Experience in the *Stato Mar* ■

. . . *nudi, scalzi, e famati ed malconditionati* . . .

After the incompetence demonstrated by Sigismondo Malatesta early in the 1463 war, the Senato Mar decided to save on money and anxieties by dispensing with *condottieri* and their companies altogether, and hiring individual captains and companies who were placed under civilian oversight, and supplemented with local groups of *stratioti*. This process is described in the Barbarigo *dispacci* of 1464-1465, and fifteen years later Minio had inherited a number of the same *capi* and *stratioti* and all of the problems.¹ The *Relationes* of the 1520s continue the same narrative, and Magno's history shows that the *rettori* at Corone and Methone were dealing with the same problems of disobedience, hunger, lawlessness, and the apparent Venetian disinterest in supplying promised salary and food.²

Minio describes the complexities of Nauplion's military in a series of tangled narratives of mutual dependence and mutual contempt. Minio's own ambivalence and frustration are clear, but he always makes equally clear the disadvantages and frustrations of the soldiers under his command. Minio had under his command a total of two thousand men in several categories, each category with its own pay scale and frequency of pay--though sometimes command was only theoretical, undermined as it was by the combination of Venetian neglect with the tendency of the *stratioti* to independent action.

■ *Fanti, stratioti, provisionati, and zagdari*

First to present Minio with a crisis were Italian *soldati* and *fanti* led by *contestabeli* and *caporali*.³ Some of the *contestabeli* had been in Greece for at least fifteen years, having

¹ The point at which this use of local mercenaries began is unclear. The Signoria had for some time directed *rettori* to give land to men who arrived with their horses and who were willing to fight. *Régestes* II, 1051 for 1402. Greeks were occasionally hired as foot soldiers at fortresses, but officials were concerned that they not outnumber Italian soldiers or be paid as much. *Régestes* II, 1578 for 1415; 2182 for 1430.

² This is only to refer to published material. Minio's *dispacci* from Crete duplicate much of the material in the Nauplion *dispacci*, as to problems and issues of discipline. Though unpublished, summaries of most of the Cretan *dispacci* can be found in Volume III of Sanudo's *Diarii*.

³ Descriptions of the various military categories reflect their appearances in the *dispacci* and sometimes vary from those in Michael Mallett, and J. R. Hale, *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State: Venice, 1400-1617* (Cambridge, 1984) and Mallett's "Venice and its condottieri, 1401-54," in Hale, *Renaissance*

served with Sigismondo Malatesta and Jacopo Barbarigo in the early years of the 1463-1479 war. These Italian troops were, according to their *condotte*, given five--or three or four--pays of grain a year, though in fact the actual amount and frequency of payments was fairly negligible, to judge from the *dispacci* and Barbarigo. At the *mostra* --muster--of the Italians in his first week, Minio discovered that he had “a total of 170 pays, in bad condition, among whom there are not 100 useful men,” as the Signoria would see from the enclosed list. He asked the Signoria to consider whether this number could adequately protect Nauplion: “about this, in my judgment, it wants not less than 300 pays.”⁴

Minio was totally without resources--either money or grain--to pay anyone. The galley that brought him to Nauplion must have taken his first letter back to Venice because, by the end of January 1479[80], he was dismayed to learn that more *fanti* were to be transported from Corone, bringing his total up to the suggested 300, when he was unable to provide for the ones he already had--”not having a grain of wheat.”⁵ The new *fanti* arrived in Nauplion on 22 February. Minio was not compulsive about numbers, or perhaps he was dictating late at night and he was tired, for he said that the 150 new *fanti*, added to the 160 already there, brought the total up to 300. “Che sono Antonio Marinato da Padua cun page (pays) 55, Baron de Legnago cun page 51, et Batista da Catharo (Kotor) cun page 45.”⁶ These three new companies were added to those of the *contestabeli vecchi*: Belfort with 29 pays, Zorzi Todescho with 43, Pelostro’s company with 42, Schiaveto de Servia with 15, Pasqual d’Aste with 11, the 10 Neopolitans under Alvixe Purinello, for a total of 150 pays.⁷

Minio made the *mostra* of the new arrivals and confirmed that “they are young, inexperienced, and bare of all supplies and equipment.” They had been long enough in transit to have used up two of their five grain payments for the year, and a pay of 1126

Venice, 121-145. These are by far the most useful works on the 15th century Venetian military, but they concern *terrafirma* practice, often different from the situation in the *stato mar*. I hope this chapter will ameliorate what Mallett and Hale, 125n101, call the “almost complete lack of surviving material relating to the pay of Venetian troops in the fifteenth century.”

⁴ *Dispacci* f 1r and 117.25-118.5 for 12 November 1479: “in summa page 170, mal condicionate, fra le qual non sono homeni 100 utili,” “del qual judicio meo non vuol esser mancho de page 300.”

⁵ *Dispacci* f 5r and 3.39-42 for 29 January 1479[80]: “non habiando granello de formento.” These may be the soldiers sent in October. Senato Mar R. 11, f 49v for 19 October 1479.

⁶ *Dispacci* f 10v and 130. This makes 151 *page*: Minio counts *contestabeli* as pays. See the end of this chapter for Antonio Marinato’s excellent adventure. In February 1482[83] there was a downward revision of *condotte* for *fanti* in the Morea. Retained in Nauplion were two of the old *contestabeli* and two of the new, with their companies: “Pasqualigo de Este cum pagis 25, Schiavato de Servia cum pagis 25, Antonio Marinato cum pagis 50, Baron de Leniairo cum pagis 50.” Senato Mar R. 11, f 161v for 14 February 1482[83]. The conventional size for dispatches of *fanti* appears to have been 150. See BCMV Codici Cicogna, b 3477, II, 1: Commissione dogale à Petro Barbaro, who in 1470 was directed to take 150 *fanti* to Nauplion.

⁷ *Dispacci* f 10v and 130. “Belforte con page 29, Zorzi Todescho, con page 43, la compagnia del Pelostro page 42, Schiaveto de Servia de page 15, Pasqual d’Aste con page 11, et quest Napolitani sotto Alvixe Purinello de page 10, in summa page 150.” Purinello’s men are later identified as *provisionati*. Later these *contestabeli* and their companies were commended for their efforts in fortifying Nauplion against an expected Ottoman attack. *Dispacci* f 10v and 139.38-41 for 14 June 1480. Belforte had been in Greece at least since late 1463. Senato Mar R. 7, f 137 for 7 November 1463. In the mid-1479s, he was sent 200 ducats to give his company one pay. Ploumides 264. Pelostro had been at Nauplion at least since 1464. Sathas VI, 97. Some *contestabeli* remained at Nauplion for another twenty years and their descendants after them. Schiaveto de Servia was listed in the forces available to Venice for defense against Ottoman assaults on Venetian ports in the Morea in 1499. Sanudo II, 1245 1249, for September 1499. Baron da Legnano had a band of *fanti* in Nauplion in 1499 and participated in the defense against the Ottoman siege in 1500. Sanudo II, 1249; III, 252, 429, 536, 597, 1023. Zorzi da Todescho was sent to Corfù in preparation for an attack in 1499. Maestro Antonio Todescho, *capo of bombardieri*, was highly praised by the *rettor* of Nauplion in 1525. *Relationes*, 245.

ducats.⁸ The next payment of grain was not due until Easter and Minio was fairly sure that at least a third of them would levant before then. To keep the number of *fanti* at the specified three hundred, Minio had the embarrassment--his word was *malvolentiera*--of discharging three older and more experienced *contestabeli vecchi* and their *fanti*: Orson Corso, Curicho Corso, and Marin da Monopoli.⁹ He remarked balefully about Nauplion's vulnerability to "The Turk."

Toward the end of March when the Judas trees were in bloom, Minio was in trouble. It was a week until Easter, and he had not been able to make grain payments for three months.¹⁰ For the Easter feast, he borrowed on behalf of the Signoria 150 *hyperpers* which he calculated as "Ducati 19, L 1, soldi 10" from the bishop's agent, Janulli Calavro, with which to buy a minimal amount of grain for the 80 *ballestrieri*, each of whom was supposed to have had a stera of wheat, every month, as part of his salary--wheat that could have been eaten or sold. Minio had enough money to buy forty stere: he gave each man a half.¹¹ To buy grain for the *contestabeli*, he borrowed money from the *vecchi contestabeli* who had seen this kind of thing before:

Further, at the request of the *contestabeli* named below, I have pledged faith that VS will be their debtor." Zorzi Todescho lent 200 ducats; Schiavoto de Servia, 50; the two *bombardieri*, 25.¹²

This was the hungriest time of the year, and grain prices were at their highest: old stores were nearly used up and barley did not become white for harvest until early May.¹³ Nearly two years later in the winter of 1481, Antonio Marinato, among the newly-arrived and hungry at this Easter of 1480, lent Minio "molte page," many pays, to pay his company.¹⁴

⁸ *Dispacci* f 10v and 130-131: "sono juveni, inesperti et nudi de ogni conditione et substantia." Easter in 1480 was 2 April. The allotment of the 1126 ducats is unclear. Mallett and Hale (126) show infantry receiving 2-2 ½ ducats a month. Professor Mallett tells me that *fanti* are assumed to be foot soldiers. The one indication in the *dispacci* that any of the Italian mercenaries had horses is negative. *Dispacci* f 35v and 165.42-43: "et senza de fanti per il tempo che li manca i cavali." Where individual *fanti* owned own horses or mules, this was written up in the company contract. See BMCV Cigogna Busta 3281, III, 18: "Conto de danari administendi in campo per mi" for November 1483. In Crete, Minio had a *condotta* for *fanti* with horses, and without. Sanudo III, 1149: "manda la poliza de li condute, 4 da cavallo et 8 da piedi."

⁹ These three *contestabeli* appear to have had a total of 20 men among them at this point. New *rettori* sometimes brought out new soldiers with them to assignments and discharged the less satisfactory of those already there. Mallett and Hale. 45.

¹⁰ Minio's respect for Easter--or tradition--made him careful that they had some kind of pay "for the feast." In April 1482 he wrote, "ho dato stera uno per paga a i soldati per queste feste . . . , ai ballestrieri de Candia ho dato mezo ducato per uno, e lo resto provedero de haver tanto formento per subvenirli." *Dispacci* f 58r and 198. Barbarigo scrambled to find something for Christmas for the *lanze speciale* and *fantarie*: when he managed to get grain, they told him they could not live by bread alone, and that they had not tasted wine for a month. Barbarigo 76.1-22 for 23 December 1465.

¹¹ *Dispacci* f 11v and 132 for 20 March 1480. At this price--2 stere for 1 ducat--he was buying old grain that probably would not otherwise have found a purchaser. By mid-summer, he would be able to buy 6 stere for 1 ducat.

¹² *Dispacci* f 12r and 133: "Preterea ad requisition deli infraditti contestabeli fazo fede ala V. S. loro esser debitori, a simil ognuno suo cavallier ut infra." That two or three *bombardieri* could accumulate 25 ducats suggests that there was precious little in Nauplion to spend money on.

¹³ This spring starvation was a historical fact of Argolid history. Lawrence W. Angel reports marks of annual starvation found on teeth excavated in the Argolid, affecting 61% of those examined. *The People of Lerna: Analysis of a Prehistoric Aegean Population* (Princeton, 1971) 84. Meanwhile, grain grown south of Nauplion was exported to the Veneto and western ports. Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, #1335, #1426.

¹⁴ *Dispacci* f 48^r and 185.17-19 for 13 December 1481: "Chel ditto contestabile avanti la sua captura haveva remesso molte page per fornire la sua cuncta, perliqual se ha impegnado et indebitado de gran summa de

. . . *feci raccogliere quanti Stratioti se ha possuto trovar* . . .¹⁵

Stratioti were horsemen, organized into companies, related by blood or marriage, and centering around *capi* from important Albanian-Epirote-Moreote and Byzantine families: Rallis, Bozikē, Kladas, Kantakuzenos, Komnenos, Paleologos, Blessa, Bua--many of whom had fought under the Despots, Malatesta, or Skander-Bey.¹⁶ A later document lists seven Buas among nineteen members of a Bua-led band, and a Bozikē band of twenty had three Bozikē and four Prifti.¹⁷ The position of *capo* was often hereditary: "our most loyal Jogna Bua, *capo* of Albanian *stratioti* in Nauplion, nephew of the respected D. Nicolò Bua," "Pietro and Nicolò, *capi* of *stratioti*, sons of the late respected most loyal D. Piero Bua."¹⁸ Although *stratioti* in a particular company tended to come from a particular locality, the companies were a volatile mixture of Albanian, Slavic, Epirote, Armenian, Levantine, and Greek birth, with a seasoning of men who, for a variety of imaginable reasons, were no longer serving with English or Irish or French or German compatriots.¹⁹ Noting their ability, the mobility they derived from their small, light horses, their contribution to the 1463-79 war²⁰ ("These peasants are more capable than the Italians"²¹), and their comparatively low cost, the Signoria began transporting *stratioti* to Italy for *terrafirma* wars, having by the early 1500s as many as 5000 under contract in Italy at one

danari." "This *constestabile*, before his capture, had lent many pays to pay for his *condotta*, which I have borrowed, and owe him a great sum of money.

¹⁵ William Miller explains "stratiote" from the Italian *strada*, "road," because they were always "on the road." Miller, *The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greece, 1204-1566* (London, 1908) 482. Professor Bugh says that the word is a direct continuation of the Greek στρατιώτης, soldier, although the meaning shifted from foot soldier to rider. Certainly, *strada* reinforced the use of the term in Italy.

¹⁶ Guiseppe Calò, editor and translator of 22 *Dispacci da Costantinopoli al Doge Giovanni Mocenigo* by Zuam Dario (Venice, 1996) 251, q.v., identifies *stratioti* as Albanian, but the names are evidence enough that they were also Greek. *Marriage*: see, for example, the document giving Chiara Rallis, widow of Vittore Bozikē, a provision of 48 ducats a year, "la Signoria nostra possa mostrar gratitudine." Sathas VIII, 310-311 for 8 July 1538. Senato Mar R. 24, f 133. Members of the Bozikē family were prominent in the war in the Morea. Barbarigo, 51, 60, 64. These *capi*, when captured by the Ottomans, were usually given exemplary punishments. Michael Rallis, taken by the Ottomans at Patras in the summer of 1466 with Jacopo Barbarigo, was impaled; a Kladas was dismembered. *Ellēnismos*, 270. "Discorso di Teodoro Spandugino Cantacusino," Sathas VI.101. Venice remembered Rallis as a hero in their own terms: "el qual non dubito per deffendere la persona del quondam provedator nostro, non volendo fuzire, fu da Turchi preso et crudelissime impallato." Senato Mar R. 12, f 197v.

¹⁷ Sathas VIII, 336-337 for 1541.

¹⁸ "El fidelissimo nostro Jogni Bua, capo de Stratioti Albanesi in Napoli di Romania, nipote de spettabile D. Nicolò Bua;" "Pietro et Nicolò Bua, capi de Stratioti . . . fioli del qu. spettabil D. Piero Bua fidelissimo." Using Sathas and records mentioned in Appendix 8, six generations of Kladas *capi*, with two and three *capi* in a generation, can be constructed.

¹⁹ *Stratioti*, previously romanticized when considered at all, are currently being given more considered analyses. Glen R. Bugh, Ph.D., Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, VA, who has written on the Hellenistic cavalry, is studying Greek *stratioti* who settled in Venice and the *terrafirma* in the sixteenth century. Nasa Patapiou of Nicosia has done extensive work on *stratioti* in Cyprus: "Ἐ Kathodos tōn Ellēnoalbanōn Stratioti stēn Kypro (16ai)," *Epetērida tou Kentrou Epistēmōnikōn Ereunōn* 24 (1998) 161-209. Alessandra Sambo, archivist at the Archivio di Stato has published a guide to the materials on *stratioti* in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia: "Fonti per la storia militare della Repubblica di Venezia," *Cheiron: materiali e strumenti di aggiornamento storiografico* 12 (1995) 187-204.

²⁰ Although *stratioti* had been employed by the Venetians long before that, and were already being hired in small groups for Italian wars. *Régestes* II, 2062 for 1427.

²¹ Barbarigo, 1.25: "isti paesani sint potentiores gentibus Italicis."

time, not counting those *stratioti* who were hired by the Kingdom of Naples or other Italian cities.²²

Provisionati were *stratioti* elite and received additional payments to maintain two horses apiece.²³ The category of *provisionati* had been brought from Italy, where it referred to companies of men regarded as a permanent force and receiving monthly salaries or *provisioni* over the long term, in contrast to companies of mercenaries hired for the occasion.²⁴ Alvise Purinello, one of the *vecchi contestabeli*, led a company of *provisionati* from Naples.²⁵ In the Morea, the status of *provisionato* was given individually, as a combination of military pension and insurance of future service, somewhat tailored to individual circumstances. *Provisionati* seem to be distinguished from *stratioti* with land grants, in part, because their grants included salaries in cash, but this distinction could also be an artifact of the vague language in various documents. In Greece, however, the status of *provisionato* could not be trusted to be a permanent arrangement, and might be changed at any time.²⁶

In 1471, in respect for his war service and with particular mention of his twenty-six relatives killed in the war, Gymno Casnessi was to have 50 ducats a year, two horses, and employment for his twenty-five *stratioti*, plus an extra 25 ducats for armor--financed by the *provveditor* of Nauplion. In March 1466, a few months before he was killed, Michael Rallis was given a *provisione* of 325 florins a year. After his death, his *cancellier*, Nicolaos Mamoti from Methone, had a *provisione* of three florins a month for each of two horses.²⁷ In 1473, Gianni Volassi, Borsi and Filippo Vinella, were given *provisioni* of 50 ducats a year for life, to continue for their sons' lives. Piero Bozikē was given the same *provisione* of 50 ducats a year, plus guaranteed employment for the twenty-five *stratioti* in his company.²⁸ In 1476, Petro Bua was given a *provisione* of 300 gold ducats; Petro Frossini,

²² Mallett and Hale, 27n3, 71. *Stratioti* fighting at Pisa were forbidden to sell their horses because of the difficulty of replacing them. Dubrovnik seems to have been a source of these horses. Krekić, #1307, for 19 May 1454, reports a Greek purchase of a horse for 8 ducats. They were also raised on Crete. William Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient* (London, 1908) 190. In the 1520s, horses were scarce among *stratioti*: "La Stratia, si li Provisionati come altri strathioti . . . servento in aparentia et a piedi, et rarissimi tieno li so cavalli." *Relationes*, 230.30-32. There were grazing lands south of Nauplion. Probably the hay required of villeins was for the administration's horses and any belonging to the *contestabeli* and *fanti*. In 1478, Marco Salamon, former *provveditor* of Nauplion, was indicted for the improper sale of horses to Petro Smorsi at prices varying from 15 to 50 ducats apiece. He was directed to refund the money. Senato Mar, R. 10, f 172r. Smorsi will have been a *stratiote*. *Stratioti* were usually armed with bows and short, two-bladed spears. Lances might be supplied by a *provveditor*. *Dispacci* f 40v and 173.29 for 8 October 1481. By 1484 when Venice was desperate to conclude the Ferrara war, *stratioti* in the *terrafirma* were being armed with handguns. Senato Mar R. 12, ff 4v-5r.

²³ *Dispacci* f 26v and 152 for 31 January 1480[81] show *stratioti* being paid 7 ducats a pay, and *provisionati* 6 1/3 ducats a pay, plus 2 1/2 per horse. That seems quite high for *stratioti*, and perhaps Minio meant to say it was for two pays, as Senato Mar R. 12, f 21r for 1484 shows *stratioti* receiving 2 and 3 ducats a pay for 10 pays a year.

²⁴ Mallett and Hale, 74, 77-79, 150-151.

²⁵ *Dispacci* f 48r and 185.12-13 for 13 December 1481.

²⁶ See below, and Sathas, IV, 190.27-28 for the discharge of "provisionati 2 Jani e Petro non fo mai nè l'è de bisogno che sia".

²⁷ Sathas VII, 9, 4, 7: Senato Mar R. 9, f 10; R. 8, f 63; R. 9, f 24. The widow and four sons of Michael Rallis made several attempts at getting a Venetian pension, before the Senato Mar gave them 100 gold ducats, and payments as needed from the regimen at Corfu, "ut in futurum non habeant causam huc veniendi et molestandi dominium nostrum." Sathas VII, 8.

²⁸ Sathas VII, 11, 13: Senato Mar R. 9, f 179; R. 10, f 20. Piero Bozikē also received land and a gown, to the

Krokondēlos Kladas, and Giorgio Menara were given 100 ducats, and all four and their servants were given *vestes*. In 1478, Adamu Rallis and Andrea Canachi, “noble Peloponessi” and *capo* in Manē, were both given *provisioni* of 60 ducats plus 10 ducats apiece for two servants.²⁹ These examples illustrate the widely-varying, improvisatory nature of arrangements for *provisioni* and demonstration of their unreliability will appear below.

Minio’s accounts refer often to *stratoti*, and equally often to Albanians, and it is not always easy to be sure when he considers these the same groups--as in “stratoti et altri Albanesi”--and when he sees them as different.³⁰ Minio emphasized the Albanian identity when he was irritated, beginning with “malcontente ed zente volubile,” and progressing to, “zente de scandalosa natura, amici dele discordie et inimiti de la quiete et pacifiche vivere, zente disordinata, et de pocho obedienti.”³¹ Minio never mentions Albanians in relation to payment or grain: it is difficult to know just where they fit, although they appear among the horsemen.³² Barbarigo used “stratoti” for Greeks and Albanians, both, and perhaps because he was running a war and required belligerence, where Minio criticized, he complimented “many notable Greek and Albanian men” (“molti homeni notabili Grezi et Albanexi”).³³

Most *stratoti* had land allotments where they and their families lived and farmed, whether legally or illegally.³⁴ The Signoria allotted land to *stratoti* in lieu of salary, or as recompense for valor, or as part of *provisioni*, and sometimes *stratoti* appropriated land in lieu of unpaid salary, as will be discussed below. These lands were not fiefs, but an administrative device to make land productive, not just of the wine, oil and grain that Venice needed, but of the taxes on this produce which went into the Nauplion camera, paid the officials, and bought grain for storage for crisis.³⁵

“Albanians” were usually herdsmen living in *catune* under elected leaders whom Venetians called *voivodes*, reflecting their Balkan origins.³⁶ *Catune* were highly impermanent clusters of dwellings, made of mud and reeds or brushwood and thus flammable--which is just how Venetians regarded Albanians who were prone to pick up and go somewhere else, depriving some *podestà* or *paşa* of taxpayers. Albanians, as herdsmen will have moved according to grazing needs. But Albanians also farmed, and *stratoti* lived in *catune* and may have also herded. Minio wrote, confusing his metaphor, that: “the *stratoti* in their *catune* were all obedient like good shepherds,” in reference to the

value of 100 ducats. See Chapter Four for more on Piero.

²⁹ Senato Mar, R. 10, f 71r. See Barbarigo, 60, for his letter recommending Kladas, Bua, and others for *provisioni*. See Chapter Four for Kladas. Senato Mar R. 10, f 182r.

³⁰ *Dispacci* f 57r and 197.19-20 for 24 April 1482. *Stratoti* were, of course, Greek as well as Albanian, but only once does Minio mention a Greek specifically in that context. Probably the men he identified as Albanians were not officially members of a particular group of *stratoti* under a particular *capo*.

³¹ *Dispacci* f 1v and 118.6; f 34r and 158.41-43. Later officials, Ottoman as well as Venetian, said the same thing. Chalul, flamburar of the Morea in 1499, wrote Francesco Bragadin, provveditor of Nauplion: “Ma la excelentia vostra è venuta de novo, et non sa li costumi d’albanesi: loro si desiderano de far et mover scandal tra li signori . . . et non è honesto.” Sanudo II, 981. “Your excellency is new here and doesn’t know the customs of the Albanians. They want to create problems between the governors, and it isn’t right.” (This is not the same Francesco Bragadin to whom the frequently-quoted commission was written.)

³² In actual war, the Albanians (and everyone else) would have been able to loot. This, in part, accounts for the outcome of the Kladas affair. See Chapter Four.

³³ Barbarigo 28.30.

³⁴ *Régestes* III, #2865 for 26 July 1451.

³⁵ See the discussion by Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford, 1994) 253-256.

³⁶ Sathas VII, 21.25; 97.32.

way everyone had pulled together to defend against the threat of the Ottoman fleet in the summer of 1480.³⁷

There were at least a thousand horsemen available--*stratioti*, Albanians, and Greeks. Minio wrote:

. . . especially because of the reputation of the *stratioti* who, in any case, between the *stratioti* and other Albanians and Greeks, can ride out in a moment from the gate of Nauplion with 1000 horse. These *stratioti*, however, are totally unruly and behave shockingly.³⁸

Greeks and Albanians, both in the 1463-79 war and in the *dispacci*, worked and served together as *stratioti*, which was to be expected as so many families had intermarried.³⁹ In later years, there was a problem, too entertaining not to mention, which illustrates administrative frustrations with these unruly people ("zente desregolata"):

Many Greeks won't serve under Albanians, and similarly, many Albanians will not deign to serve under them except their relatives. A really bad practice was introduced there, that all the bands, when they keep Christmas and Easter and the feast of S. Marco, the *rettori*, who at requests from the Bishop's vicar, the Greek *protopappas*, the Albanian *protopappas*--they all ask for their own--give absolution to the bands, contrary to the law, and in my time certain councillors absolved Papayanni who gave the finger and said shocking, villainous things to the magnificent *miser* Andrea Contarini who was *bailo* and captain. If someone does not cut out this absolution, there is great danger that one day there will be a real scandal for the *rettor*.⁴⁰

The occasions mentioned here--Christmas, Easter, and the Feast of S. Marco on 25 April --were dates on which the *rettor* had authority to remit penalties for legal offenses, a practice introduced in the 1500s as the number and violence of Ottoman attacks increased in number and the Signoria had to buy loyalty wherever it could.⁴¹ Acts from the Signoria from the previous fifty years pardon particularly valued *stratioti* for homicide beyond that acceptable in the normal course of their duties. Four of the Bozikē brothers were part of the Kladas uprising:

³⁷ *Dispacci* f 17r and 139.36: "li Stratioti ale suo catune i qual tutti obedino como buoni pastori." Also f 23v and 148.20: "fui stato in persona con molti cittadini et capi de Stratioti per le so catune."

³⁸ *Dispacci* f 57v and 197.22-26 for 24 April 1482: "maxime per la riputation de i Stratioti che in ogni caxo in uno momento pò ussir fuori de le porte de Napoli con cavalli 1000 fra Stratioti et altri Albanese et Greci, cum grandissima reputation . . . questi Stratioti, quantunque sia zente desregolata et de condiction scandalosa."

³⁹ The potential for discord was always present: "dissensio non sequatur inter Grecos et Albanenses," Sathas IV, 35.9-10 for 3 March 1467. Senato Mar R. 8, f 108.

⁴⁰ Sathas VI, 244.24-26; 245.27-24, Nicolò Justiniani, reporting August 1525 on 1522-1524: "molti Greci non voleno star sotto Albanesi, et al simel molti Albansi non se degna star sotto altre che quelli del suo parent . . . Lè introdutta una pessima consuetudine, che alli bandi che se fa da Nadal et da Pasqua et da San Marco, li Rectori, cussi rechiesti dal vichario del Vescovo, Prothopapà de Grechi, dal Protopapà de Albanesi, che cadauno rechiese il suo, vieneno absolti de li bandi, contra la forma de le leze, et in mio tempo per certi consiglieri sono sta absolti Prè Jane che havea dato le fige et detto villanie vergognose al magnifico messer Andrea Contarini fo Balo et Capitaneo; et se no se taglia ditta absolution, lè gran pericolo che un giorno non sequi qualche gran scandolo a i Rector." Andrea Contarini was Justiniani's predecessor in office, 1519-22. Hopf, 384.

⁴¹ Ploumides, 269 #87.

By the authority of this council, let there be a safe-conduct for our loyal Bozikē, who are four in number, so that, despite any homicide committed by them, they can return to our aforesaid territory of Nauplion and there live and remain with impunity.⁴²

Other types of soldiers in Nauplion are less in evidence in the *dispacci*. The eighty Cretan *ballestrieri*, *stratioti* armed with crossbows, who were sent to Nauplion in 1476, appear with some frequency: their pay continually failed to arrive, and they themselves caused Minio frequent uncertainty.⁴³ On 16 January 1481[82], Mino wrote that in the whole twenty-six months (“mexi 26 compidi”) he had been in Nauplion, nothing had been provided for the *ballestrieri*.⁴⁴ Eventually, the Signoria gave up trying to get the *camera* at Candia to send the money, and assigned the obligation to the *camera* at Padua.⁴⁵ Some *ballestrieri* levanted and Minio replaced them with men he found locally. There were also two or three *bombardieri*, cannoneers, unmentioned in the *dispacci*, except for the first Easter when they lent Minio money.⁴⁶ The new wall of the Castello dei Franchi supported positions for six cannon; the tower and north curtain of Toro had positions for at least eight more, though only one cannon appears in the *dispacci*, a large one, and that only because it was borrowed for use on Santorini.⁴⁷

Finally, there were *zagdari*, Greek foot-soldiers. They only appear twice in the *dispacci*, both on occasions when they were reported to have behaved badly, aiding and abetting rebellion.⁴⁸ Minio also mentions “men from the land on foot” (“homini de la terra a

⁴² Sathas VII, 30 for 3 October 1482: “Quod auctoritat huus consilij predictus fidelibus nostris Busichis, qui sunt numero quatuor, fieri debeat salvus conductus, ita quod non obstante aliquo homicidio per eos perpetrato, possint ad predictum Locum nostrum Neapolie Romanie reverti et ibi libere et Impune stare pro eorum arbitrario.”

⁴³ 1476: Even in 1476, the *ballestrieri* weren’t being paid. The *Senato* noted: “ballestrieri Crete qui sunt in dicto castro sunt in maxima necessitate . . . regimen Crete non mittit pecunias,” and imposed a 500-ducat penalty on Crete. *Senato Mar R.* 10, f 90r. Barbarigo 89.35 mentions that 50 *ballestrieri* from Candia were sent to Nauplion.

⁴⁴ 26 months: *Dispacci* f 49r and 186.40. A list of Cretan *ballestrieri* from 1428 suggests their origins: Micheli Rodi, Michali Sclavo, Michali Crussocapo, Janni Aiufandi, Janui Calogero, Michali Surian, Jani Sten, Georgio Avonal, Petrus Vurgari, Stamati Fengi, Monoli Armeni, Nicola Satroca, Manoli Fodele, Nicola Calisima. Noiret, 322-323. The Cretan archers whom Runciman says defended Constantinople in 1453 will have been *ballestrieri*. Steven Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople* (Cambridge, 1969) 63.

⁴⁵ Sathas VII, 25 for 10 April 1481. *Senato Mar R.* 11, f 106.

⁴⁶ Ploumides 265#35. *Dispacci* f 11v and 132.6 for 3 March 1480. *Bombardieri* were paid 3 ducats a pay. BMCV Codici Cicogna 3281, III, 18: “Conto de danari administendi in campo per mi.” Later, the *capo* of the Nauplion *bombardieri* was Irish, a Piero Irlanda. Sathas VIII, 322 for 29 January 1539. *Senato Mar R.* 15, f 96.

⁴⁷ Andrews, 95, fig. 100, 106, 107; Pl. XXI-XXIII. Presumably the Castello dei Franchi cannon positions were created to take advantage of the architect and available labor, or in contemplation of a condition of extreme retreat; given their location they would have been firing directly into Nauplion houses. *Santorini: Dispacci* f 55r and 194.25 for 23 March 1482. In the round tower just outside the western gate of Nauplion is a sighting block for one of these early cannon which shot stone balls. Such blocks are clearly visible in the walls and towers on the Camocio map cited in Chapter One. The stone cutters sent in the spring of 1480 may also have cut cannon balls. *Senato Mar R.* 11, f 68v for 12 April 1480.

⁴⁸ *Dispacci* f 22v and 147.22 for 19 December 1480, “alcuni pedoni Albanesi et Zagdari.” In 1484, the *Senato Mar* authorized the draft and transport to the terraferma of 1000 *zagdari* for the Ferrara war. *Senato Mar R.* 12, f 5r. Cortelazzo gives *miserable* as a synonym for *zagdari*; the Greek ὁ τζάγδαρος is unsure, but may derive from a combination such as Turkish *zag-* “blade” and *-dar* “owner,” which suggests they were armed with javelins. Sathas (VII, Preface, iv et seq.) makes a valiant effort to derive τζάγδαρος from Ζαρασδοειδής, worshippers of Zoroaster, wanting them to be Cathar initiates, preserving the faith in the Balkans, and

piedi”): perhaps these were *zagdari* on good behavior, as on this occasion when he had taken them out with a company of citizens and horsemen and soldiers to impress the flamburar who had come with three hundred horsemen. In the Ottoman system, there was a category of Christian soldiers, *sarachor*, who owed military service as an *angaria*. As *zagdari* are never mentioned in terms of being paid, they appear to be essentially the same people as the *sarachor*.⁴⁹

As was mentioned in Chapter One, Minio had the possibility of arming another 3,000-4,000 men: Venetians, citizens, townsmen, Greeks, even villeins, as circumstances warranted.⁵⁰ There were weapons in the armory for that purpose--swords, crossbows, spears, javelins, and cudgels. At the time of the great Ottoman fleet movements in the summer of 1480, Minio gave out at least 500 spears at the call-up.⁵¹

The *dispacci* allow some reconstruction of organization and governance within these groups. In February 1479[80], the *capi* presented Minio a formal complaint about the lack of food, “on behalf of their organization” (“per nome de la universita de quelli”. The Italians made a similar complaint “in the name of all their *contestabili*, *caporali*, and the rest of their company”⁵² *Stratioti* were free to appeal to the Captain General or to the Senato Mar for redress of grievances, and Minio several times mentioned such missions.⁵³ *Stratioti* occasionally behaved with a great deal of autonomy: when *stratioti* were wanted for transport to Italy in 1481, Minio had to make four appeals before the *capi* elected four of their group to go with their bands.⁵⁴ It is not clear what recourse the *regimen* would have had if they had refused to go at all.

Among the *vecchi contestabili* whom he retained in February 1479[80], Minio mentioned Pelostro’s company--thirty-six men and six *caporali*--who had been without a *capo*, Pelostro, for some time. They had worked out the leadership among themselves, having elected eight of the company to manage them, “they have governed themselves well without a *capo* to be *capo*, with eight esteemed men for their government” (“se habia ben governado senza capo per esser capo cun 8 homeni da conto al governo”). Minio continued:

transmitting it in their trans-European travels. Sathas alternatively suggests *vagarii*, “vagabonds,” and finds a source in Photios in ζαράδης.

⁴⁹ *Dispacci* f 64r and 210 for 1 February 1482[83] “homeni dela terra a piedi.” In a later document, they are equated with *asapi*, Ottoman footsoldiers: “500 zagdari pedoni overo axapi.” Sanudo I.30 for September 1498. *Azapi*, *axapi* are probably from ὁ ἀζάπη, ἀζαπίδες--“poovero, misero” from Turkish *azab*, irregular foot soldier; the Italians interpreted the Greek plural ending for -pie “feet,” and so thought of the word as meaning “foot soldiers.” *Sarachor* is possibly the source for *zagdari*: certainly, these terms describe the same people: “Ancora, simili a’ questi Asapi sono alcuni christiani chiamati Sarachor, che hannò li Asapi et i suoi communi, et rare fiate il Gran Turco.” Giovanni Maria Angiolello [Dona da Lezze (1479-1526)], *Historia Turchesca (1300-1514)*. I. Ursu, editor (Bucharest, 1909) 152. *Asapi* and *sarachors* do military service as an *angaria*.

⁵⁰ Joss van Ghiste in Simopoulos, 333.

⁵¹ *Dispacci* f 16v and 139.12 for 1 June 1480. Senato Mar R. 9, f 141r for 24 July 1472.

⁵² *Dispacci* f 8v and 128.299-30 for 10 February 1479[80]; f 25 and 151 for 31 January 1480[81]: “per nome di tutti loro contestabili, caporali, et lo resto de le suo compagnie.”

⁵³ Also, see the response from the *Senato*, Sathas VII, #CCXCII, for 18 September 1535.

⁵⁴ *Dispacci* ff 32v-33r and 161, 162 for 30 April 1481; f 52 190-191 for 15 February 1481. All four of these men had relatives in the Kladas and Bua revolts. Some of Bozikē’s relatives were in prison in Nauplion, and Zorzi Bozikē and Marin Climendi had been stripped of their rank as provisionati in the December mostra. Caratolla and Climendi were go-betweens in the Kladas settlement. Climendi was given an additional provision of 60 ducats a year for his defence of Nauplion during the Ottoman siege of 1500. Senato Mar R. 15, f 87v.

I had wanted to try this out, and they said they did not want to submit to another *contestabele*; but they wanted to serve in that fashion. So as not to upset them, it is not worth forcing them.⁵⁵

If they were to be assigned to another *capo*, Zorzi Todesco was the only one deserving, let alone the only one who could handle them, but an innate appreciation for ability made him hesitate to recommend the move to the Signoria “because they are reliable men and and thriving people, I have not wanted to force them”--“per esser homeni stabili et zente florida, non li ho voluto sforzar.”⁵⁶ Venetian authorities tended not to disband leaderless groups immediately: this comment from Minio may also imply that such action could lead to trouble.⁵⁷ He first wrote about them in March 1480: as of February 1480[81], a year later, he had still received no directions.⁵⁸ In the case of Alvise Purinello’s company, his *provisionati* from Naples were put under the command of Tarsio da Pieve, a companion of Antonio Marinato.⁵⁹

Even with a good commander, *fanti* and *stratioti* could plan trouble. In the summer of 1480, when Nauplion was anticipating an Ottoman attack, most of Belfort’s company, stationed at Nauplion for ten years, rebelled (“hano fatto una risa”), and maybe it was over a matter as simple and understandable as wanting to go home.⁶⁰ Although Belfort himself was *obedientissimo*, his company was “as disobedient in large affairs as in all the others,” and some of them “fled like traitors.” They, it turned out, were going to the Captain General to complain about Minio, taking a letter written for them by *miser* Iosepho Lion, the *camerlengo*, who was a friend of Agustin de Parma, one of the group. Minio gives no clue as to their complaint, but he was extremely upset, and asked the Captain General to please “give them the deserved punishment for each individual as an example to the others” (“darli la debita punition nela persona per exempio di altri”).⁶¹ There were nuances to the etiquette of levanting:

⁵⁵ *Dispacci* f 24r and 150.1-2, for 6 Feb 1481: “Io ho voluto experimentar de farlo, et loro dete non voler sottometersi al alsun contestabile, ma i vuol servir cussi, ma per non meter confusion fra loro, non merita sforzarli.” Interestingly, the still-leaderless Pelastro company was re-enrolled at Morosini’s mostra. *Dispacci* f 24v and 149.38-39 for 6 February 1480[81].

⁵⁶ *Dispacci* f 10v-11r and 131.8-14 for 1 March 1480; f 24v and 149.38-150.4 for 6 February 1480. The *capo* who got the company would also get additional money from his *condotta*, and from salary kickbacks.

⁵⁷ Barbarigo discussed the disbanding of the company led by *ser* Albertin da Cremona after his death: the company had come out with 300 members and were down to 90. He thought 40-50 of them could be assigned to other companies. Barbarigo 61.29-62.8.

⁵⁸ However, an item in Senato Mar R. 11, f 128r for 26 January 1481[82] suggests that this company no longer existed officially by then. The Senato Mar, needing to repay a Dalmatian merchant who had supplied 150 ducats worth of merchandise for horses, wrote “accipiantur pecunie, que penes provisores nostros super cameris reperiuntur de ratione Peloseti Comestabile mortui, sue sunt ad summam librum quinguntarum.”

⁵⁹ *Dispacci* f 48r and 185.12-13 for 13 December 1481. Barbarigo had a similar problem: “per la morte de uno *ser* Albertin da Chremona fo contestabile, era rimasta soa condotta sine capo, era page 90, et deliberava quelli divider in le altre compagnie.” This was greatly complicated by the interference of Sigismondo Malatesta who was the Venetian field commander. Barbarigo 61.29-31. Replacement of commanders depended on many circumstances, and whether a natural successor emerged. When a company had to be absorbed into other companies, it was regarded as an opportunity for weeding out the less-satisfactory individuals. Mallett and Hale, 145.

⁶⁰ Senato Mar R. 9, f 68v for November 1470. Belfort appears in the *dispacci* without an introduction. He was not listed with any other *contestabeli*.

⁶¹ *Dispacci* f 17r and 140.4 for 14 June 1480: “desobediente si in le grande, como in tutte altre cosse,” “fuziti como traditori.” This incident occurred at the time the epidemic began, as two months later, Minio wrote “sono za do mexi passati che non gli ho fatto la mostra, per esser como dico molti amalati.” *Dispacci* f 17v

In the end, I have not been able to learn who started it. In other cases it is usual for *fanti* to levant, but to plan together and just take off with a leader--this is manifest treason.⁶²

Were the Captain General to punish too many too severely, it would be difficult to find “people who are disposed to be willing to die for the needs of our Most Illustrious Signoria.”⁶³ but these deserved condign punishment (“condegna punition”): Agustin da Piacenza⁶⁴, Venturin da [. . . .], Bernardo da Bressa, Bernardin da Bologna, Michiel da Taranto, Barella da Ferrara, et Lonzin da Fiorenza--seven names, though he had said there were “8 over 10 traditori.” The variety in the names of the towns suggest that *fanti* were much less likely than *stratoti* to have loyalties to specific locations. Unfortunately, there is no follow-up to this letter.

. . . in fina havesse apresentato a la mostra circha 500 homeni utile . . .

On 9 April 1480, the Sunday after Easter, Minio made a *mostra* of the new *contestabeli* and *fanti*. If they passed muster, if they and their weapons and horses were in good condition and their skills acceptable, the *bollette*--lists of men to be paid--were taken, which means that they could then be paid, if there were a paymaster on hand to do so, and if money had been sent out to pay them with. Without a local paymaster, or money for the *provveditor*, *bollette* had to be sent or taken to Venice: there were a number of occasions when Minio wrote that he had given permission for someone to take a *bolletta* to the Signoria. Minio did not directly report each *mostra*, but when his comments are plotted on a calendar, *mostre* appear to have been held about every two months.⁶⁵ Some few *mostre*, such as the one he held his first week in Nauplion, included all men under arms: most were for either the *fanti* or the *stratoti*. *Mostre* were also held when the Captain General or some dignitary visited, and once he wrote that “for the past two months I have not made the *mostra* because, as I said, many have been sick.”⁶⁶

At various *mostre*, Minio had to “get rid of young boys and Greeks” (“cassare putti et Greci”) and *ragazzi*, which upset him, both because they were present against the rules,

and 141 for 5 August 1480. See Appendix 3. There is a record of another complaint against Minio: this when he was governor at Cremona in 1504-1505. The Cremonesi made several complaints, unspecified in the documents, which were investigated; Minio was cleared and supported by the Signoria. BMCV Cod. Cigogna 3160/XIII, *Commissione*.

⁶² *Dispacci* f 17 and 139-140 for 14 June 1480: “non posso in fin hora intender chi sia stato l'autore . . . In altri casi le usanza de fuzir i fanti, ma de far consigli et feste pure fraloro et haver capo, questo e uno manifesto tradimento.”

⁶³ *Dispacci* f 17r and 140.13: “loro sono disposti de voler morir a i bisogni de la nostra Illustrissima Signoria.”

⁶⁴ Does he mean Agustin de Parma?

⁶⁵ The two-month interval was far from rigid, but approximate dates for the *mostre* as suggested in the *Dispacci* are: early November 1479; mid-February 1479; mid-April 1480; late-May 1480; summer *mostra* missed from illness; mid-December 1480, the Morosini *mostra*; late-January 1480 *mostra* demanded; mid-February 1480; mid-April 1481; early June 1481, *mostra* demanded; late July 1481; mid-August 1481; late September 1481; early October 1481, two *mostre*; mid-November 1481; mid-January 1481; mid-March 1482; mid-April 1482, two *mostre*; early September 1482; early November 1482; early January 1482. Mallett and Hale, 494, report that pays were given out--and so, *mostre* were held--every 45 days in peacetime, “up to 1589.”

⁶⁶ *Dispacci* f 18r and 141.9-10 for 5 August 1480: “sono za do mexi passati che non gli ho fatto la mostra, per esser como dico molti amalati.” See Appendix 4.

and because they needed food.⁶⁷ There appears to have been a small floating population, often mentioned by Barbarigo, of otherwise unemployed youths--sons, younger brothers, and orphans who hung around the soldiers. Where payment was concerned, the Italians were the most vulnerable of the mercenaries. *Stratioti* had land and families or relatives nearby, so they had some local support, albeit limited, and the Albanians lived in their own communities. *Fanti*, though, were totally dependent on money and grain sent from Venice, and so the most likely to levant, in hopes of finding food or paid work somewhere else.⁶⁸

When companies finally got their cash pays, payment was generally made to their *capi* or *contestabeli*, who naturally got higher salaries, plus an honorarium from each member of the company. An example from 1541 shows:

Ducati 35	il spectabil D. Zuam Valami cavallier governador
3	suo fameglio (servant)
4	4 4 4
15	D. Zorzi Ramussai cavallier
3	suo fameglio ⁶⁹

This particular agreement is based on six pays a year, and includes "the lands that were given them according to custom."⁷⁰ The salary differential shows why Antonio Marinato, as *contestabile*, was eventually able to own his own *fusta*. Companies had different ranks of leadership: Marinato hired a *corporale*. Salary for personal servants might be included in the *bolletta*, as in the one above, though each case depended on how the individual *condotta* was written.⁷¹ Another list from 1541, that of the Bua company mentioned earlier, provided 85 ducats for nineteen men, more evenly distributed and with a much smaller discrepancy between Paulo Bua's salary and those of his men--perhaps because they were all related. The first few entries on this list read:

Domenego Candreva provision di	ducati sette
Francesco Manassi	ducati sei
Cesare Bua qu. Alexi	ducati quatro
Guma Bua fiolo del capo	ducati cinque

⁶⁷ Sathas I, 296.6-7 for 1485: "Item non possunt dicti castellani dare stipendium alicui minori viginti annis, vel maiori quinquaginta, nec alicui Greco." "The castellans cannot hire anyone under the age of 20 or over 50, or any Greek." Presumably Greeks, villeins, were needed for their labor elsewhere, and salaries should go to Venetians. In 1468, the commission to Jacopo Marcello, provveditor for the war that year, said: "Non permittes aliquem Grecum et Albanensem esse in conductis conductorum . . ." Sathas I, 266.34. In this case, there may have been a *Senatorial* prejudice about their reliability. As for the *ragazzi*, Barbarigo mentioned them frequently, and gave them employment when he could: "che de qui ragazi ine pono haver in quantita." Barbarigo 35.32-33. However, *ragazzi* were sometimes written into *condutte*, presumably as personal servants. BCMV Codici Cigogna Ms 2681: "Dal 1500 fino 1502 registro dei dispacci di Bartolomeo Minio," ff. 9v-10r, e.g. "Comestabilo cum ragatio."

⁶⁸ Minio probably knew his namesake was in a similar situation: "Bartolomeo Minio junior, el qual era stà camerlengo et capitano del borgo de ditta cittade [Methone], datoli pedoni 100, de quelli erano in custodia de quella." Magno 234 for 27 September 1482.

⁶⁹ Presumably four men were paid 4 ducats each. With that name, Ramussai's family was probably from Nauplion. Sathas VIII, 352, for 1541. Chapter One, page 26 and n22.

⁷⁰ Sathas VIII, 349 for 1541: "li terreni che gli serano dati secondo il consueto."

⁷¹ *Dispacci* f 48r and 185 for 13 December 1481, and Appendix 6. But sometimes differentials were not as wide as that in the Bua example. A *condotta* reported by Minio in October 1500 was for "contestabilo cum ragatio, 12/12 hyperpers; caporali cum ragatio, 12/12 hyperpers; 12 stratioti 75/3 hyperpers." *Dispacci: Crete*, ff. 9v-10r.

The subsequent entries have two *stratioti* at *ducati sei*, three at *cinque*, four at *quattro*, and six at *tre*, so Paulo Bua had 12 ducats as his share.⁷²

Stratioti never got all their pays in any one year, as these various comments Minio wrote during 1482 show:

- March 1482: “i Stratioti . . . in mexi 19 non hano havuto . . . salvo page do in danari, et do altre de formento”;
- April 1482: “i ditti Stratioti, a i qual V.S. promesse page tre de formento et a i soldati page 5 al’anno”;
- September 1482: “da mexi 10 in qua li è mancato la subvention del formento, che ogni mexe solvano esser subvenuti de formento”;
- October 1482: “peroche lè circa uno anno che non hanno havuto subvention alcuna de danari, et de forment”;
- November 1482: “che lè circa uno anno che non hanno havuto subvention acuna de danari.”⁷³

What these amounts mean is fairly vague. Mallett and Hale show *fanti* in Italy at the time were paid 2-2 ½ ducats a month, *stratioti* 4 ducats and 2 sacks of grain, “lances” 7-8 ducats a payment for 70-80 a year.⁷⁴ Minio wrote of giving *fanti* 2 *soldi* each or one-half ducat in October 1481; and again, 3 *marcelli* to *capi* and *provisionati*, and 2 to the *stratioti*.⁷⁵ Another time, he gave the *stratioti* two pays at one time of 12 3/5 ducats apiece, making just over 6 ducats a pay. In the 1460s, Jacopo Barbarigo had paid 2 ducats apiece to the *stratioti*, although that was in wartime scarcity.⁷⁶

Venice rewarded some and paid others with cloth and clothing, such as Gianni Volassi and Piero Bozikē who received *vestes* (robes), or Michael Rallis’ aide who was given a scarlet robe. Giorgio Pagomeno and Giorgio Paniperi were given, respectively, *vestes*--robes--of black velvet and cloth-of-gold.⁷⁷ Andrea Dandolo, *provveditor* of the

⁷² Sathas VIII, 336-337 for 1541. These numbers will not be too far different from payments made in the 1480s. In 1465, Barbarigo identified several catune in Manē “de Albanexi nominati Manassei.” Barbarigo 51.15-16.

⁷³ *Dispacci* f 53v and 192.21-23 for 4 March 1482; f 57v and 197.37-38 for 24 April 1482; f 62r and 203.37-38 for 11 September 1482; f 64r and 206.31-32 for 25 October 1482; f 65r and 207.42 for 14 November 1482. These can be duplicated many times in the Barbarigo *dispacci*. It is difficult to understand why, writing about *stratioti*, Braudel said that “soldiers must always have been over-paid, attracted by the extra wages,” and why he considered 2 ducats a month overpayment Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. Siân Reynolds, translator (2nd revised edition, Paris, 1966; English version, New York, 1974) Vol. 1, page 437 and n537. Although Braudel writes from the point of a century later, pay rates were essentially the same.

⁷⁴ Mallett and Hale, 126. They do not specify the size of a sack of grain.

⁷⁵ *Marcelli*: name for the silver coin with a portrait of Doge Nicolò Marcello, 1473-1474.

⁷⁶ Barbarigo 28.38. Barbarigo had, in fact, made an impress of the citizens, *cittadini*, of Methone and Corone to get this money, most of which he was able to repay. Another time, he wrote that 25 *grossi* were not enough for a man to live on for a month. Barbarigo 16.16. This is evidence of high inflation in wartime Morea. Twenty-five *grossi* is equal to 300 *torneselli* (a ducat was 400 *torneselli*) and appears to have been standard pay for a sailor or soldier. Stahl, 67.

⁷⁷ Sathas VII, 4 for 1 March 1466, Senato Mar R. 8, f 63; 11 for 12 September 1473, Senato Mar R. 9, f 179; 13 for 13 September 1474, Senato Mar R. 10 f 20; 36 for 13 January 1483, Senato Mar R. 11, f 194. Cloth-of-gold is conventionally said to have been ornamented with a modest amount of gold thread. However, the cloth-of-gold illustrated in Patricia Fortini Brown, *Art and Life in Renaissance Venice* (New York, 1997) 126, also illustration on 90, has a gold brocade weft (with yellow taffeta background and red velvet pile) that appears less than modest.

Morea early in the war was sent sixty-three lengths of cloths of various colors, in eight sealed bales, to distribute to Greek and Albanian *capi* according to their loyalty and merits. Certain *capi*--Nicolò Griza, Petro Bua, Nicolò Rallis, Michael Rallis, and Cumino--were given fine scarlet.⁷⁸ Such gifts were carefully controlled, as cuts and colors were calibrated to indicate particular honors and status: “nisi si videretur dominio ob aliqua insignia merita sua erga statum nostrum,” and two Janissaries of Christian origin, converted back to Christianity and baptized in a Venetian spectacle, were *not* to be robed in red, despite what the “*prefatus provisor*” had promised.⁷⁹

■ Payment and the *riformation de condotta* of 1480

. . . *una compagnia sufficientie et ben in ordine* . . .

The ramifications of the *mostra* are best-illustrated by the consequences of the notorious *riformation de condotta*, an “adjustment” of contracts because--presumably--such a large army was unnecessary now that there was a peace agreement with the Ottomans.⁸⁰ In fact, plans for reformation were *en train* even before Minio left Venice. On 17 June 1479 (a Thursday), the Senato Mar voted:

It is resolved that this council is called for next Monday, in which nothing can be discussed until the matter of the abovementioned *stratioti* is completed first. All members of the College are to come with their ideas, under penalty of 500 ducats.⁸¹

In September 1479, they voted on instructions for the reform, specifying that they wanted to retain about 1000 *stratioti*, give them two pays, and discharge the rest. Some could be given lands outside Methone, Corone, or Nauplion, and others who were willing could have land at Lepanto--this land in lieu of back pay. There was some concern about antagonizing the *stratioti* who would be discharged, but from the Venetian point of view, the plan, even though a unilateral revision of *condotte* and a complete violation of written agreements, was well within reason.⁸² It was apparently as part of this over-all revision that Antonio Marinato of Padua and his companions had been sent to the Morea, though that particular revision had been only for the *soldati*, the Italian *fanti*. In the wrenching letter of 5 August 1480, Minio wrote: “because in the five months since the *condotte* were reformed, they

⁷⁸ Sathas I, 240-241 for 17 March 1464. *Secreta R.* 22, f 5.

⁷⁹ Sathas VII, 15 for 18 May 1476, Senato Mar R. 10, f 78. Sathas VII, 5 for 22 July 1466. Senato Mar R. 8, f 88. The “*prefatus provisor*” was Jacopo Barbarigo. The ex-Janissaries were taken on as *stratioti* and given extra horses so they would each have three. It is specified that they will have *stipendio consueto*. See Chapter Three for gifts of cloth to Ottoman officials.

⁸⁰ Reformation was necessary, if for the fact that Venice had been spending 1,200,000 ducats a year on the war with the Ottomans. Mallett and Hale, 130.

⁸¹ Sathas VII, 18, for 17 June 1479: “Vadit, pars quod die Lunae proximo vocetur hoc concilium in quo nil aliud tractari possit nisi prius expedita materia suprascriptorum stratiotorum . . . omnes de Collegio . . . venire cum opinionibus suis sub pena ducatorum CCCCC.” Senato Mar R. 9, f 30.

⁸² Sathas VII, 18-19, for 15 September 1479. Senato Terra R. 8, f 61.

have not had any payment,” when he should have been giving them ½ stara apiece a month.⁸³

However, it was not until a year and a half later, in November of 1480, that Ieronimo Morosini, *provveditor* of the fleet, arrived in the Morea to make the *mostre* of the *stratioti*, and revise the *condotte*. Morosini continued with his plans, despite the fact that Krokondēlos Kladas had just led an uprising against Venice and the Ottomans, and the long-unpaid *stratioti* were irritable. It is possible that Venice believed that disbanding the *stratioti* would, under the circumstances, be convincing evidence for the Ottomans that Venice not only disclaimed all connection with the uprising, but was well content with current arrangements in the Morea. Escorted by four galleys--whose six hundred or so oarsmen could serve as a private army in a crisis--plus another galley carrying the payroll,⁸⁴ Morosini stopped first at Methone where he selected *stratioti* he wanted to keep--three *provisionati* with 307 most useful (“più utile”), among whom were 107 men of rank--gave them two pays, reduced a number of *provisionati* and *capi* in rank to mere *stratioti*, and cashiered the other four hundred.⁸⁵ A further action of the Senato Mar taken in July 1480, in preparation for this *riformation de conduta*, reads:

Finally: the *stratioti* in the Peloponnesos have remained in cooperation with our *dominio*, from having two pays before this separation, and seven a year after, that is four in ready money and three in grain. The two pays ought to be given them from the 6000 ducats that this council decided should come from *decima* #41, which 6000 should be given in 2 pays, since there is a surplus of 300-400 ducats. It is resolved that the surplus of that same money should be distributed among the leading *stratioti* for their own.⁸⁶

This explains the two pays, and it pacified the more influential *stratioti*. It specified four pays in cash and three pays in grain each year, something to which Minio could and did refer when he wrote on their behalf. As Venice was two years behind on payments to the *stratioti* anyway, two pays for some could only have been taken as an insult, and it was. Morosini did this at Methone, and then went on to Corone, Monemvasia and Nauplion where he repeated his actions at each place.⁸⁷

Minio's letter implied, and there was later confirmation, that the *provveditor* made the *mostra* the day he arrived, without taking time to learn anything about the situation in

⁸³ *Dispacci* f 17v and 141.4 for 5 August 1480: “perche da 5 mexi in qua che sono reformate queste condutte . . . non hano havuto altra subvention,” See Appendix 4.

⁸⁴ BCMV Codici Cicogna 3529, *Annali Veneti de Stefano Magno*, f 83r and Magno 222. 19. Stahl, 18. 400 *torneselli* were considered to equal one ducat. This money was transported in sacks of 40,000 or 64,000 *torneselli*. A 1364 document records that each sack weighed 28.6 kg. The *Senato* action quoted below refers to 6000 ducats, which would then equal 2,400,000 *torneselli*. At 40,000 a sack, this would be 60 sacks; at 64,000 a sack, 37 ½ sacks.

⁸⁵ BCMV Codici Cicogna 3529, *Annali Veneti de Stefano Magno*, f 83v and Magno 222.14-22.

⁸⁶ Sathas VII, 23-24 for 27 July 1480: “Remanserunt tandem concordēs cum nostro dominio Stratioti Peloponnesi de habendis ante eorum hinc discessum pagis duabus, et septem postea quot annis, hoc est quatuor in prompta pecunia et tres in frumento, quae due pagae illis dari debent de 6000 ducatis eis per hoc consilium dari deliberatis de decima numero 41, de quibus quidem 6000 ducatis solutis subscriptis duabus pagis, cum superabundant ducati circiter 300 in 400. Vadit pars quod eadem pecuniae superabundantes distribuantur inter primores Stratiotorum ipsorum.” Senato Mar R. 11, f 70. This money was to be provided by the camera at Padua. It is not clear whether any of this took effect before Morosini got to Greece in November.

⁸⁷ If he kept 500 at Methone, he would have to take 500 from Monemvasia, Corone, and Nauplion together, as the Senato Mar wanted 1000.

Nauplion. After consultation with his “advisors,” Morosini fired a number of the most experienced and useful *stratioti*, and gave double pay to a group of wastrels. The immediate result was that Theodoro Bua, ranking capo after Kladas, led his troops, most of whom had been discharged (“la mazor parte de quelli sono sta cassi”), plus assorted Albanians and *zagdari*, in their own private declaration of war against the Ottomans, killed two janissaries at Argos, and went south to join the Kladaïoti.⁸⁸

Minio spent the next two years writing letters in attempts to remedy all the disasters caused by His Magnificence’s visit.⁸⁹ As Morosini’s payments had been made only to the *stratioti*, Marinato and da Todescho were both elected by “tutti loro contestabeli, caporali, et lo resto” to take petitions to the Signoria on behalf of the Italians, who had in ten months received only two of the nine or ten pays they expected.⁹⁰ Further, with these two men gone, he was deprived of the two leaders who most useful to him in maintaining stability and discipline among the mercenaries, and in overseeing construction work. A fragmentary explanation of missing payments came later that year, in June, when Minio took three *bollette*, “without the *fanti* for the period that they were without horses.”⁹¹ In January, Minio warned again that without pay, the companies would levant and find a living elsewhere, and Nauplion would be without protection.

Another victim of Morosini’s *mostra* was Minio’s *cancellier*, mentioned in Chapter One. Minio wrote outraged and repetitive letters to the Signoria and the Captain General, explaining in minute detail exactly what had happened. The *cancellier* had held his position for ten years, ever since the dreadful sack of Negroponte, when he lost his wife and sons to Ottoman slavery, and “it is not right that he be deprived of his service and his labors” (“non è justo che li sia tolto la utilità et fatiche suo”). The Captain General, Antonio Loredan, had expressly confirmed four years ago that this man was to hold the *banca* for the *stratioti* and *soldati*, and Minio had a document to prove it, signed 11 May 1475 not only by Loredan, but also by then-*provveditor* Iacomo Marcello, and by the Signoria--which said that his term was to extend until 19 January 1481.⁹² But at the December *mostra*, two months before his term was up, Morosini had stripped him of his position and given it to his own *cancellier*, who reaped the benefits of this nameless man’s last four years of work and taken the money he had expected would provide dowries for his motherless daughters.⁹³

When Morosini’s *collateral* had paid the *stratioti*, the payout at Nauplion had gone like this, according to Minio’s table:⁹⁴

⁸⁸ BCMV Codici Cicogna 3529, Annali Veneti de Stefano Magno f 83v and Magno 222.23-29; also *Hellēnismos*, 278, say Bua had 60 men. Minio, who was more likely to know, said “cerca cavalli 30 ed alcuni pedoni.” *Dispaccio* f24v and 147.22 for 19 December 1480. There do not seem to have been many more than 30 janissaries at Argos, but there were strikingly few Ottoman officials anywhere in the Morea. The revolts will be discussed in Chapter Four.

⁸⁹ For example, *Dispacci* f43r and 177.20-26 for 5 October 1481; f39 and 171 for 8 October; 183-184 for 18 November.

⁹⁰ *Dispacci* f 25 and 150-151 for 31 January 1480[81]. As will be seen, the Italians were particularly vulnerable and treated shamefully in terms of pay. For Zorzi da Todescho to go to Venice, Minio had to send him to the Captain General with a recommendation for a passport. Antonio Marinato did not need permission, as he was a citizen of Padua in the *terrafirma*.

⁹¹ *Dispacci* f 35v and 165.42-43 for 9 June 1481: “senza de fanti per il tempo che li manca i cavalli.”

⁹² *Dispacci* f 26 and 151-152 for 31 January 1480[81].

⁹³ *Scuole*, fraternal and charitable societies, considered charitable dowries of 15-25 ducats appropriate for daughters of *cittadini*. Robert C. Davis, *Shipbuilders of the Venetian Arsenal* (Baltimore, 1991) 101. Minio had estimated that the *cancellier* was missing about 45 ducats.

⁹⁴ *Dispacci* f 26v and 152 for 31 January 1480[81].

	<u>Soldi</u>	<u>Ducats</u>	<u>Perpers</u>		
408 stratioti @	28	[7 ducats] =	perperi 571	soldi	4
30 provisionati @	[2 pays]	12 2/3 =	76		8
60 horses @ ⁹⁵	20	[5 ducats] =	60		
		For a total of	perperi 707	soldi	12

From this the Morosini's *collateral* had taken a cut of 45 ducats, or 10 *perperi*: so Minio said, but he was approximating, and he switched *perperi* and *soldi* in his calculations, though he came up in the general vicinity, but his point was that his *cancellier* had been robbed.⁹⁶ For a whole year, Minio wrote letters for the *cancellier* who eventually appointed his brother-in-law, Nicolò de Spoliti to represent him on the matter in Venice. Nicolò carried a letter to the Signoria, but we never learn if he received justice.⁹⁷

After the initial confusion of the Bua rebellion subsided, the *stratioti* insisted Minio make a new *mostra*.⁹⁸ He intended to demonstrate:

the great disorders and the frauds committed by the wrong information given by those with the Magnificent Provveditor. I will do what I can to remedy the disorder and inconveniences.⁹⁹

After the mid-February *mostra*, he wrote again, able to speak more openly because he had a supportive letter from the Senato:

in which you recognize that the cancellieri and the rettori of the lands and provinces of Your Signoria, unaware of the soldiers' matters, by cashiering them, sending back, and making the *bollette*, committed destructive errors.¹⁰⁰

This was a small vindication and he dictated in a torrent, explaining what he had learned at his *mostra* about the nuances of military pay. Apparently Morosini's *collateral* had

⁹⁵ Each *provisionato* in this *condotto* maintained two horses. Payment was contingent on presentation of the horses in good condition.

⁹⁶ *Dispacci* f 26v and 152:39-43. Minio explained it like this: "Et scosse piu del dover perla scription de cadaun cavallo tocava soldi 16 de tornesi et lui scosse 20. Et amodo quello scosse de piu per stratioti 48. Et Provisionati 60 a soldi 4 per uno monta perpieri 33 soldi 12, i qual abuto dela summa stessa, perche no se domanda quello scosse piu del dover: resta perpieri 614, a perpieri 13 soldi 10 per ducato, monta ducati 45, perperi 10." He was obviously dictating when he was exhausted and exasperated. The 48 should have been 408, the 614 should have been 674, and the 60 was two pays for 30 men. Still, Minio's accounting was well-regarded: Piero Sanudo, the syndic who checked his accounts in Nicosia, wrote, "lo ho visto le danari spexi per il magnifico missier Bortolo Minio esser utelmente spexi, et con solitudine, senza merito de reprehensione." Sanudo V, 435 for 14 March 1500.

⁹⁷ *Dispacci* f 30 and 157, f 43r and 177, f 46v and 183, f 47 and 183-184 for 18 February 1480[81] through 18 November 1481. On 5 October (177) Minio suggests that the money could be given to his *cognado*, Piero Trevisan, to bring back.

⁹⁸ If *stratioti* could insist on having a *mostra*, they could also refuse one, as reported in a *dispaccio* to the Captain General on 1 August 1481. *Dispacci* f 37v and 169.

⁹⁹ *Dispacci* f 24 and 149.32, 36 for 6 February 1480[81]: "i desordini grandi et fraudi commessi . . . per la mala information data per quelli che era appresso la M.na del proveditor. . . . remediario quanto me sera possibile a i desordeni et inconvenienti passati."

¹⁰⁰ *Dispacci* f 30 and 157.10-14 for 18 February 1480[81]: "per le qual se conosce che i cancellieri de i rectori de le terre et luogi dela V.a S.a, ignari dele cosse de i soldati . . . in casar remetter et far le suo bollette, commette dele erori in danno dela V.a S.a."

introduced a new kink into the elaborate pay process, and had taken an additional cut from each salary paid out:

In fact, there appear certain alterations in this section of the instructions given by the said great *Collateral* for taking the *bollette*, so that from the credit of the *contestabeli* and their *condotta*, beyond His Magnificence's customary honorarium, which is that 4 *soldi* from each pay and 1 from each hundred coming to them are deducted, this new form requires that an additional 2 *soldi* per pay be deducted from each *bolletta* to the *regalia de la branca*.¹⁰¹ This was never done in the past, and the *contestabeli*, learning of this change, protested saying they could never hold with such a regulation, in addition to the 2 *soldi* they pay to the clerk and collateral who holds their *condotta* and ration, and makes their *mostra*, discharge, remission, and *bolletta*, they have to pay another 2 *soldi* per pay to the Collateral General to the *regalia de la branca*.¹⁰²

Using the figure cited above of 28 *soldi* for one pay, it seems that a *stratiote* paid an honorarium of one-seventh of his salary or 4 *soldi* to the Collateral General, and 2 *soldi* to the paymaster at Nauplion.¹⁰³ Until Morosini arrived with the bags of cash, that salary was all on paper. Once the cash was available, Morosini's *collateral* took with the 6 *soldi* an additional 2 *soldi* more for himself, which means that each *stratiote* paid 8 out of 28 *soldi* for the privilege of having a salary at all. Minio explained for the Signoria in great detail that the rules--for taking *bollette*, for kick-backs, for firing, and hiring--had been put in place by the indisputable authority of Valerio Chiericati, the late Vice-Collateral whom the Signoria themselves had sent out a few years back to write up standards applicable to all the Levantine *stato mar*.¹⁰⁴

In a discrete admission of administrative error, and in an effort to stave off further rebellion, the Senato wrote Minio to treat humanely ("humanamente") the *stratioti* who had been discharged, and to give them and their families grain. The *stratioti* had been

¹⁰¹ The *banca* was the bench where the soldiers were enrolled and paid. Mallett & Hale, 102.

¹⁰² *Dispacci* f 30r and 157 for 18 February 1480: "Veramente in la forma del levar dele bollette date per il ditto collateral grando appar certa innovation in queste parte, tantum che del credito de i contestabeli et suo conducte oltre la honoranza de S. M. consueta che sono soldi 4 per paga et una per cento che li vien scontado per questa nuova forma, vuol che li sia scontado etiam soldi 2 per paga per cadauna bolletta per regalia dela branca. La qual cossa per il passato non fo mai observata e questi contestabili inteso questa innovation, se lamentano et dicono non esser tegnudi a tal regulation che oltra soldi 2 deti, pagano al cancellier et collateral che tien de qui le suo conducte et raxon e fa le suo mostre cassation remission e bollette: debano pagar altri soldi 2 per paga per regalia dela branca al collateral general." Using the figure given earlier of 28 *soldi* for one pay, this meant that a *stradiote* paid an *honorarium* of 1/7 of his salary to the Collateral General, 2 more *soldi* to the *collateral* in Nauplion, and were being hit up for 2 *soldi* more. *Stratioti* could also be exploited by *provveditori*. Part of the penalty given Marco Salamon for his various financial misdeeds was to repay to the *stratioti* the money "exactas a stratiotis contra per formam comissionus sue, ultra id quod exegit nostro domini." Senato Mar R. 10, f 172r.

¹⁰³ It is not surprising to learn that Piero Camuccia, new Collateral General, was considered overpaid. The position was changed that year to an elected position; he lost the election. Mallett and Hale, 110.

¹⁰⁴ Valerio Chiericati was *collateral* in the Morea during the war, and is referred to frequently in Barbarigo's *dispacci*: for example, Barbarigo 6-7, 9, 18, 83. He was the brother of Cherighino Chiericati, prominent Vice Collateral of Venice, whose 1471 treatise on military pay and appointments, *Trattatello della milizia* was highly critical of the current Venetian system. Mallett and Hale, 106-107, 109. Mallett, "Venice and its condottieri, 1401-54," in Hale, *Renaissance Venice*, 138.

“malissimo contenti” until this, and Minio felt somewhat relieved.¹⁰⁵ There was a follow-up letter from the Senato with more detail; Minio repeated what they had written him:

I received another letter in which Your Signoria repeated your instructions that you regarded those *stratioti* who had been cashiered by the *provveditor* as most dear, good, true and faithful servants, and you will never abandon them or separate them from your favor, and soon you will make provision so they will not feel they have been driven away from your mercy and favor. And that from time to time I should make them grain allowances so they can live quietly with their families and without dissension, according to the merits of each.¹⁰⁶

When he read the Senato’s letter to the *stratioti*, they were much relieved, but matters were touchy: many *stratioti* were indirectly involved in supporting the Bua revolt or their relatives who were in revolt, some had relatives in jail in Nauplion as a result of the revolt, and Minio’s efforts at using the *stratioti* to locate the rebels had been a complete waste of time.

Some amends were made: most of the *stratioti* who had been fired were taken back on. *Provveditor* Morosini directed that they receive four pays a year, with the camera at Padua responsible for the expense.¹⁰⁷ After the June 1481 *mostra* Minio wrote:

I made the *mostra* as carefully as I could, and took three *bollette*: those of the *stratioti*, the *capi*, and the *provisionati*, according to the information in the *condotte* and limitation of the provision for the *capi* and *provisionati*. I have observed the customary rules about pay for the *stratioti*, without keeping the honor of S. Marco and a provision, and have omitted the *fanti* for the period when they were without horses, since in the past it was not usual to make such payment with the *stratioti*.¹⁰⁸

This letter provides a wealth of information, and raises a number of questions. It appears that even though the *stratioti* and *provisionati* had been re-hired--albeit with four pays of cash instead of the four of cash and three of grain others were to have--they were taken back into service at the reduced rank. Those whose knighthoods (“honoranze de sam Marcho”) and *provisioni* had been taken away were not getting them back.¹⁰⁹ The three

¹⁰⁵ *Dispacci* f 29r and 155.39-42 for 19 February 1480. Mail was moving very fast. The Bua revolt had been on 15 December, he reported it on the 19th, the Senato Mar wrote him on 10 January, a letter to which he is here replying on 19 February.

¹⁰⁶ *Dispacci* f 31r and 159.10-20 for 4 March 1481: “Recevai unaltra lettera . . . perlaqual essa V. S. replicando me comanda che i Stratioti i qual furono cassi perel . . . proveditor . . . che queli li ha per carissimi como boni veri et fedelissimi servitori et non li abandonera ne per alcun tempo li separa dalasua gratia et presto li provedera per modo che sentano non esser cazati da la clementia et gratia de quello . . . ; et che de tempo in tempo li debia subvegnir del formento . . . perel viver suo con lesuo fameglie moderata et de sissentatamente secondo i meriti de cadauno.”

¹⁰⁷ Before 1469, individual municipalities had specific responsibilities for the military budget. This was suspended during the war, but in December 1479 the municipal system was reactivated. Mallett and Hale, 130.

¹⁰⁸ *Dispacci* f 35v and 165 for 9 June 1481: “. . . li feci la mostra con tutta quella diligentia me fo possibile, et feci levar bollette tre, cussi a i Stratioti como etiam ai capi et provisionate secondo le information de le suo conducte et limetation deli provision de i capi et provisionati . . . Io ho servato la forma consueta circha le page dei ditti stratioti senza retention de honoranze de san Marcho et una provision et senza de fanti per il tempo che li manca i cavalli: pero che peril passato non esta consueto defar tal retention a loro stratioti.”

¹⁰⁹ Venice frequently tried to save money at the expense of the non-Italians. When swamped with the expenses of the Ferrara war that wasn’t going to be as short as planned, the Senato started a review of

ranks--*stratioti*, *provisionati*, and *capi*--were listed on separate *bollete* for this *mostra*, and not necessarily by company. Three *capi* were to take these *bollette* to Venice. Finally, this letter suggests that some *fanti* were expected to have horses: it is more than likely that the *fanti* had had to sell them for food.

■ Land and Food

There was another set of consequences from Morosini's *mostra*, serious for Nauplion's *camera*, which suggest that Minio may not have been given important information. Minio's account shows a series of practical decisions and negotiations necessary for the well-being of the *regimen* and, again, the tendency of the Captain General and the Senato to delay response. Minio wrote on 6 June 1481, at harvest time. It seems that about eighty *stratioti*, the good and the useless, both ("circha 80 fra boni et inutili"), who had been dismissed at the *mostra* and not rehired, and especially *capi*, had appropriated land belonging to the Signoria which they had farmed that year. There was the matter of the *somazo*, a tax collected at the gate on grain and other produce brought into the city for sale. The *stratioti* claimed an exemption from this tax, which had been sold at the tax auction for 2500 hyperpers, saying they had been granted this exemption by the Captain General as compensation for their dismissal. The previous summer, in June 1480, Minio had called a *mostra*, anticipating an Ottoman attack. Because he had not been able to pay them anything, and there had been other payments not made, "money as well as grain" ("pecunarie come frumentarie"), he had excused them from the 1480 *somazo*.¹¹⁰ That was worth 1600 hyperpers of a tax that sold at auction for 1800. This year, in 1481, Minio had auctioned the *somazo* with the understanding that the *stratioti* would pay their share.¹¹¹

Additionally, the *zamoro*, a tax of ten percent on produce from the land, was due.¹¹² This tax had sold at auction for 2200 hyperpers, but the *stratioti* claimed the Captain General had granted them these lands tax-free as part of that compensation. They had no documents, and Minio himself had no authority to give them an exemption.¹¹³ "They made an enormous fuss about the matter" ("loro veramente fazando gran querimonia de questa cossa"), and Minio consented to suspend a decision until they could get a reply from the Captain General. Minio believed they should pay the *zamoro* in recognition of ownership

provisioni, claiming that only those granted by that council were valid. Sathas VII, 31 for 22 May 1483. Senato Mar R. 9, f 167.

¹¹⁰ The low valuation of the *somazo* the past year had come from the losses at harvest because so many of the *stratioti* had been volunteering for the defense of Nauplion, in anticipation of an attack from the Ottoman fleet. *Dispacci* f 37r and 167.38-39.

¹¹¹ *Dispacci* f 37r-38r and 167-169 for 16 June 1481; f 40 and 173.7-9, 34-25 for 8 October 1481.

¹¹² *Zamoro* turns up in documents as *gimorum*, *gimeri*, and in at least thirteen other forms, as a tax owed on produce by free men, fief holders, and villeins, collected on grain, beans, linen, wine, and cotton. See also Sathas IV, 207.2. The name derives from the Greek γήμορον or γεώμορον, from δεξαμόρος, or δεκατημόρος, and is a synonym for *decima*, a term Minio rarely uses. *Dispacci* f 37r and 169.6. "De zemori, zoe formenti de la decima," *Relationes* 204.15-16. Longnon and Topping, 269-270.

¹¹³ This was, reasonably enough, among the *rettor*'s instructions: "Item cum certi homines inceperint laborare de terris vacuis nostri dominii, et ipsas tenere sicut suas, nec aliquid ius reddant dominio," and these lands were not to be granted "sine consensu et voluntate tuorum consiliariorum." Sathas I, 285.27-34 for 1485. Such instructions may have been inspired by the preemption of lands mentioned here.

of the land, and because Naupliots who had lost land to the Ottomans in the war would be offended.¹¹⁴

Further, some of the *capi* had taken in so much grain that they not only had enough for their own requirements, but had more than 300 stere to sell: to profit so from the property of the Signoria “is neither right nor appropriate” (“*nè par justo nè conveniente*”). There were bad feelings among the *stratoti* over this, to say nothing of the upset among the citizens of Nauplion. Minio obtained an agreement that if the *bollette* they had submitted were paid, they would pay the *somazo*. A list was made of what each *stratiote* owed, and Minio asked them to wait four months, until they could have an answer from the Captain General. Meanwhile, he persuaded them to deposit the *zamoro* in “uno magazen,” a storehouse, until the end of the four months.¹¹⁵

The four months were up in October, and the *stratoti*, “*precipue i capi*,” wanted to sell their grain. Minio wrote the Senato, repeating the June letter, and asked for a decision. As he said, “the other taxes of Your Signoria are few in this place.”¹¹⁶ He also had a practical proposal: he had just been sent 1220 ducats to make the *mostra* of the employed *stratoti*, and found out that “without the dead and the levanters and those fired for due cause” (“*fora morti et scampadi et cassi per suo demeriti*”), he was short sixty men. Then he made the *mostra* of the eighty unemployed *stratoti*, and found that while twenty of them were useless, there were sixty in good condition and well-horsed. He proposed to rehire these sixty, and “it is right because they have long service with Your Signoria.”¹¹⁷

In mid-October, the *stratoti* wrote the Captain General with their side of the story. Minio wrote his side “in copiosa et particular forma” and since the *stratoti* had delayed so in sending theirs, he had delayed sending his letter. The messengers from the *stratoti* were now bringing both letters, and a copy of his earlier letter to the Signoria.¹¹⁸

In November, Minio explained the problem all over again. He still had no evidence of the tax exemption, and no response from the Captain General. He believed they could afford to pay the *zamoro*, and calculated that the *zamoro* worth 2200 this year would be worth 3000 next year.¹¹⁹ Trouble was brewing between the *stratoti* and the *citadini* over the issue. He explained the specific urgency for making them pay:

If VS concedes the *zamori* and *somazo* to the *stratoti*, which is the main income for this treasury, wanted to pay your *rettori*, *camerlengi*, and other employees of the territory, it will be necessary for you to send money to pay them.¹²⁰

¹¹⁴ *Dispacci* f 37 and 168.26-29 for 16 June 1481; f 39v-40v and 172-174, for 8 October 1481. Minio had earlier made a similar agreement with a flamburar. *Dispacci* f 8v and 128 for 10 February 1479[80]. See Chapter Three.

¹¹⁵ *Dispacci* f 39r and 169.6-8 for 16 June 1481.

¹¹⁶ *Dispacci* f 40r and 173.17 for 8 November 1481: “i altri datii de la Vostra Signoria, che sono pocho in questo luocho.”

¹¹⁷ *Dispacci* f 40v-41r and 174.11-21 for 8 October 1481: “è justo per haver longamente servido la Vostra Signoria.” This raises the question of just what a *stratiote* would have to do to be fired for due cause.

¹¹⁸ *Dispacci* f 44v and 179 for 21 October 1481.

¹¹⁹ *Dispacci* f 45v and 181.42 for 8 November 1481.

¹²⁰ *Dispacci* f 46r and 182.26-30 for 8 November 1481: “Se la V.S. concedera a essi stratoti iditti zamori et el datio del somazo, che e la principal intrada de questa camera vogliando pagar i vostri rettori camerlengi et altri salariadi de questo luocho sera neccessario aquella de mandar danari deli per pagarli.”

There was no response and he wrote again on 15 February 1481[82], “so that the *stratioti* are not in conflict with the *cittadini*.”¹²¹ This was another issue for which the *dispacci* give no resolution.

The *mostra* was the time when both Venetian policy and mercenary revolt became visible. No governor can have been sanguine in the face of 500 armed men to whom he was explaining that Venice was not going to pay money and grain promised, earned, and long overdue. It would not have been forgotten that--at least once--unpaid, angry and armed men had turned on their leader and cut off his head.¹²² On more than one occasion, Minio was forced to make the *mostra* when everyone knew he would not be able to make any payments, one of these in preparation for a possible Ottoman attack.¹²³ Possibly non-payment was an unspoken policy: these were men in a culture of surplus, unpaid men, and there were few places they could go. But evidence appears over and over in different forms in the *dispacci* to support the idea that Venice simply did not have the resources to pay all its obligations.¹²⁴

The state of Venetian finances is best illustrated by an incident that appears only as a perfunctory report, but which may be among the more important letters of the *dispacci* because it illustrates so much so clearly. The event is mentioned in Magno:

The said captain having given the order, he sent the said Christoforo Duodo with eight galleys to the said area. He went as far as the city of Nauplion, where he had information about the damages done in that gulf, of which he informed the Prince and Signoria, which was received on 15 December.¹²⁵

With the visit of the new *provveditor* of the fleet, Christoforo Duodo,¹²⁶ the degree of penury to which Venice was reduced was fully visible:

On the 8th of this month, His Magnificence, the *provveditor* arrived here with 7 galleys. Because His Magnificence's galley and the other in his command were in bad condition and had great need of repair, he had the two of them careened--Duodo's and Soranzo's--which was done with extreme care. Finally on Tuesday, which will be the 18th, they will be repaired, as your excellencies will be informed in more detail by His Lordship. The repair is being done very promptly and seriously in each case, which should be for the honor and glory of Your Sublimity.¹²⁷

¹²¹ *Dispacci* f 52v and 191.27-28 for 15 February 1481[82]: “accio essi Stratioti non siano in confusion con i cittadini.”

¹²² Barbarigo 27.33.

¹²³ *Dispacci* f 40v and 173.28 for 8 October 1481.

¹²⁴ Mallett and Hale, 128ff, discuss the financial resources and commitments of the Venetian state in the context of military payments. Throughout Barbarigo's *dispacci* he rages against the disregard, disrespect, and waste of loyal, competent soldiers, some of them unpaid for more than three years.

¹²⁵ Magno, 235.5-8: “havendo el ditto capitano detto ordine, quello mandò el ditto Christofolo Duodo con galie otto in ditta parte, el qual andò fin alla cittade de Napoli, dove havudo notitia de danni fati in qual colfo, ne dè notitia al Principe et Signoria questa se have adi 15 Decembre.” Minio's letter about the visit was written 14 November.

¹²⁶ The will of Christoforo Duodo q. Lucha, brother of Piero, is found in ASV Testamenti. 1235/135.

¹²⁷ *Dispacci* f 64v and 207.11-21 for 14 November 1482: “Adi VIII de linstante, de qui e venuto il M.co proveditor . . . con galia 7 . . . E perche la galia dela sua Magnificencia, et le altre alui commesse sono malcondictionate et ha gran bisogno de conzar: fece metter a carena do desse Duoda et Soranzo. Le qual se conzaranno con ogni sollecitudine, infina Marti che sera 18 del presente seranno conzada como per sua Signoria V. E. sara piu particolarmente advisata. Il qual e molto prompto et seriamente in cadauna cossa che sia de honor et gloria dela Vostra Sublimita.” This work would have been done just south of Nauplion at the

It was one thing if Venice was desultory to the point of criminal negligence where the soldiers were concerned, but if the *provveditor* of the Fleet could not have a galley maintained in good condition, what hope had the *provveditor* of an insignificant city? It was after this visit that Minio stopped asking for money.

. . . *constrecti per la extrema necessita sua* . . .

The ultimate purpose of *mostre*, at least from the participants' point of view, was to be paid, whether in grain or money. This was not something that happened with reliable frequency, and as the *dispacci* were so often written in conjunction with crisis, they leave a perpetual image of hundreds of ragged, barefoot men on the edge of starvation and riot.¹²⁸ This image, irregularly accurate, can be somewhat corrected, at least for the *stratioti*, and the account of the preempted lands should be kept in mind.

When Minio arrived in November 1479, he estimated he had enough grain to last for two months. He was off by two weeks. On 29 January, at the beginning of a long letter about disputes with the local Turks over property lines and stolen animals and displaced families, he made the brief, dispassionate comment that he had had no grain for a month. That evening, too weary to be dispassionate, he wrote again about the *soldati* who were bare, barefoot, and hungry ("nudi, scalzi, e famati"). Some of them were young boys whom he had to discharge without pay, and he was in the greatest anxiety and distress ("in grandissimo affano ed angonia"). He begged, dictating, that they would "provide grain, grain, and grain, so that again and again I implore and beg, I exhort and persuade Your Excellence to be pleased to make arrangements for this," asking them to send it by land and by sea.¹²⁹

By the end of the next letter, there was hope: "Right now here, the sowing of the grain looks good, and I judge there will be a good harvest this year."¹³⁰ The barley would be harvested beginning in April, wheat towards the end of June. The rain would be good for something. If the Signoria sent him money, wheat would cost a third locally of what it would if bought in Venice and shipped out. But, "Your Excellence will most wisely dispose of this as you please" ("Vostra Eccellentia quella sapientissima dispona come gli piace").

Because this is such a constant issue in the *dispacci*, it seems worthwhile to digress briefly on what these measures of grain and values meant to the *stratioti*. Before kick-backs, a *stratiote* got 28 *soldi* in each of four pays a year in cash, and at least three pays in

shallow beach of Karathona where sand-covered harbor works and outlines of buildings can be traced. There is a 15th-century church of Ag. Nicholas which tradition says was built from the profits of the Venetian wine trade. (Karathona was the nearest source of sand for construction.) The age limit for galleys was between 8 and 12 years. Lane, *Venetian Ships*, 263. Soranzo: Luca Soranzo, *sopracomito*, listed in Magno, 224.

¹²⁸ Perhaps no group was ever in such dire straits as the *stratioti* and *fideles* of Monemvasia back in March 1473, during the war. Turkish attacks had taken the food stores and animals, and thirty-five of the fifty *stratioti* guarding the city had been killed. The citizens had to pawn the *calices ecclesiae* for money to send delegates to the Senato Mar to ask for food. The Senato gave them 30 ducats. Senato Mar R. 9, f 161; also Sathas VII, 10-11, for 22 March 1473.

¹²⁹ *Dispacci* f 1 and 117-119 for 12 November 1479: "se dequi provider de formento, formento, et formento pero iterum atque iterum prego et suplico, exorto et persuado la Vostra Eccellentia li piage far provixion sopra ciò."

¹³⁰ *Dispacci* f 3 and 120.31-3 for 29 December 1479: "De qui alpresente le semination dele biave mostra belle et judico che questo anno sara bonno aricola."

wheat.¹³¹ A stera of wheat (54.4 kilograms), cost 1 3/4 *perpers*. A kilogram of wheat (or 1.52 liters; a stera has 35.7 liters), contains 3150 calories and 90 grams of protein. Milled and made into bread (with the most basic ingredients: water, salt, and leaven), it contains 2500 calories. Cooked as a porridge, it produces about six servings, depending on whether it has to serve as a whole meal. In other words, a kilogram of wheat provides basic nutrition for a grown man (with minimal activity) for two days, although without other sources of minerals and vitamins, malnutrition will soon set in.¹³²

Venice never quite managed the business of having grain supplies where they were needed. Grain payments were part of the complex economy that pacified military contractors, kept a certain amount of specie at home that would otherwise have been dissipated overseas, covered half the expense of salaries, provided a small market for *stratioti* produce, collected local taxes, and very occasionally gave the soldiers something to exchange for cash. On paper, the *stratioti* got four and the *fanti* five payments of grain annually, or they did before the *riformation*. After the *riformation*, *stratioti* got three and the soldiers none, whatever the paper said. Grain sent out for payment was frequently in poor condition.¹³³ On occasion, Venice sent out ships' biscuit, *biscotti*: Minio mentions a shipment that had spoiled.¹³⁴ In the unlikely situation that all grain payments were made, without other sources of food the soldiers would have been underfed at least two-thirds of the year. However, *stratioti* had some degree of access to garden plots or farmland, and what they were able to sell from their farms produced a little cash with which to buy additional food. They also owned fishing boats, and animals that they pastured south of Nauplion at Iria and Thermissi.¹³⁵

Minio's official responsibility for food extended only to the grain promised in the *condotte*, so that he makes rare mention of other sources of food. In fact, Venetian documents for Nauplion and Argos a hundred years record very little more besides wax (thus honey), barley, wine, cheese, formaggio, ricotta, biscuit, and fish (*cere, orzi, vini, case, formagi, ricote, biscotti, pesce*).¹³⁶ Minio once mentioned "barley bread, honey, confectionery and sugar" ("pan orzo, miel, confetion e de zuchero") as a gift for the flamburar.¹³⁷ *Pan orzo*, barley bread, is poverty food, hard and nearly flavorless when made without oil, but it keeps indefinitely and this gift was made in February when grain stores were running short. *Condotte* for the mercenaries specified wheat, and every mercenary at one time or another would have learned as did Kolokotronēs that green grain--grain eaten

¹³¹ Twenty-eight *soldi* are the equivalent of 1 2/5 *perpers* (20 *soldi* = 1 *perper*), or 112 *torneselli*. Three hundred *torneselli* was the usual monthly pay for soldiers. So the *stratioti* rate of pay assumes other sources of income in peace-time. In war, there would be loot.

¹³² *Dispacci* f 27v and 154.9-16 for 12 February 1480. Measurements and equivalents are taken from Donald W. Engels, *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army* (Berkeley 1978), 123-124, with some modification by experiment in my kitchen. Millet and barley have more calories but less protein than wheat. Minio's references and *condotte* are always in terms of wheat. The monetary equivalents are Minio's.

¹³³ *Dispacci* f 17v and 140 for 5 August 1480.

¹³⁴ *Dispacci* f 62r and 203 for 11 September 1482: "non habiando almeno el pane." Senato Mar R. 9, f 70v for 12 April 80.

¹³⁵ *Dispacci* f 39 and 172-173 for 8 October 1481; f 45-46r and 180-182 for 8 November 1481. While there is no direct evidence supporting this, close reading of accounts of non-payment juxtaposed with the many accounts of petty piracy makes it appear more than likely that some *stratioti* and *fanti* had found other ways to survive.

¹³⁶ Sathas III, 277; IV, 169, 222-223; V, 206-207.

¹³⁷ *Dispacci* f 8r and 127.28-29 for 10 February 1479[80].

too soon--gave painful stomach cramps.¹³⁸ Fish and octopus were mentioned in the previous chapter, and Minio said several times that the people of Nauplion had nothing but the sea to keep them alive (“salvo che il mar per il suo vivere”), but neither he nor any other Venetian source described October in Nauplion, when the large grey *kefaloi* run into the harbor: for two weeks every fall, the water is alive with foot-long fish that can be caught on hooks without bait or scooped up in nets and buckets.¹³⁹ Nowhere in the *dispacci* is there a mention of chickens, eggs, goats, or sheep; of figs, olives or grapes, which might be taken for granted as food supplements.¹⁴⁰ Wine was given a flamburar once; otherwise, wine, cheese and oil appear only as cargo for export. Once Minio mentions taking time to *manzar*--this at a mid-day break during three days of wrangling over a new *condotta*--but says nothing of what he ate. Despite all the attention in the *dispacci* given to food, the view found there is curiously limited and depressing.¹⁴¹

At the *mostra* of 8 April 1480, just after he had borrowed money to feed them for Easter, Minio found that 25 of the new *fanti* had gone missing; without the 300 stere *miser* Zuam Francesco Venier had brought that week from Methone, half of them would have vanished. Given the news of the Ottoman fleet movements, he was sure the Signoria would want to make sure of food stores so Nauplion could maintain a sure defense.¹⁴² At the end of April, a *grippo* brought 380 stere of grain from Corfu, and even though he had to pay for it at 16 *soldi*, or 4 ducats, a stera, he was delighted, plus he had another 300 stere from Methone. “This wheat has put life into the body of these soldiers.”¹⁴³

A few days later he made a suggestion: because the harvest was going to be so abundant that he would be able to buy grain at 3 ducats a stera, if the Signoria would send him the money, he could buy grain locally to put into storage. Grain shipped from Venice was not only more expensive, between the original price and the shipping charges, but it was so long in transit that much had spoiled or become powder by the time it got to them.¹⁴⁴ Little or no grain was kept for sale locally when grain not purchased in the territory at the time of harvest could be sold in the Morea or Ragusa or Venice.¹⁴⁵

On 21 May, Minio replied to several letters that had arrived all at once, two of them about the *stratioti* and food. The Signoria’s 5 February letter encouraged him to keep assuring the *stratioti* of the Signoria’s affection and assure them that food and money were on the way: he had and did and would. The 13 March letter reprimanded Minio for having bought grain locally--this before he actually did, and he said he hadn’t, and that Nauplion would be in trouble if they didn’t take better arrangements for food. He again asked for money: the harvest would be good, so good that he could buy at 4 stera a ducat.

¹³⁸ Theodoros Kolotronēs, *Memoirs from the Greek War of Independence, 1821-1833*. E. M. Edmunds, translator. Originally printed as *Kolokotronēs: The Klepht and the Warrior. Sixty Years of Peril and Daring. An Autobiography*. (London, 1892; reprint, Chicago, 1969) 211, 224.

¹³⁹ “In this city . . . every year the grey mullet (kefal) pay a visit to a magical charm and come into the harbor, at which time they are caught.” Evliya Çelebi (1611?-1682?), *Seyahat-name*. Pierre A. MacKay, translator (In typescript, 1998). Minio never wrote about a lack of food in October and November.

¹⁴⁰ Sathas, I, 278.29-30; 300.25 in the Bragadin commission.

¹⁴¹ Canon Casola’s comment about food in Methone may have some relevance for Nauplion: he speaks of the expense of wine because of the export market, the scarcity of firewood, fruit, eggs, and fish “although the people are in the midst of the sea,” Casola, 191-194.

¹⁴² *Dispacci* f 12v and 133.28-134.5 for 17 April 1480.

¹⁴³ *Dispacci* f 13r and 134.41 for 29 April 1480: “Questo formento ha messo la vita al corpo di questi soldati.”

¹⁴⁴ *Dispacci* f 14v and 136 for 21 May 1480.

¹⁴⁵ Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, #1335 for 21 November 1455.

At the *mostra* in late May, he counted five hundred useful men, without the boys ("homeni utili, senza ragazzi").¹⁴⁶ There should have been biscuit on hand to give them: the Senato Mar had in April directed a shipment be sent.¹⁴⁷ Once they could start harvesting in May, June, and July, they should have been taken care of where food was concerned, but apparently the harvest was inadequate, or he was never sent money, because in the 5 August letter, he writes about extensive debilitation from lack of food, as well as disease.¹⁴⁸ In early August, Lucha Mantello's ship arrived with 4864 stere from Venice. The amount is recorded with a bookkeeper's precision but it was in bad condition. Minio muttered that he had been asking for that grain for six months.¹⁴⁹ Irritated because he could have bought much more than 5000 stere locally for what it cost to buy and ship the grain out (the interests of military contractors and investors were clearly more important to the Senato Mar than convenience of *provveditori*), Minio had to sell 1000 stere immediately: they had sent him old grain which was already deteriorating, and Nauplion had no facilities for making *biscotti*.

For the rest of 1480, food was not a problem, but there were the revolts to occupy his attention. By February 1480[81], Minio was running short of supplies, the remaining grain was in poor condition and he was afraid it might make the soldiers sick. Still, to judge from the sowing and the rainfall, the harvest for the whole Morea would be exceptionally abundant: the current price for grain was low and by harvest time would go much lower--as low as 6 stere for a ducat. All two hundred and thirty *fanti* were sick or run-down. Antonio Marinato and Zorzi Todescho, who had lent him 200 ducats to buy grain a year before, were going "the feet of Your Excellence" ("a i piedi de la Vostra Excelentia") on behalf of the *contestabeli* to ask for help.¹⁵⁰ On 19 February 1480[81] and again on 4 March 1481, Minio wrote that he had followed his instructions and given grain allowances to the cashiered *stratioti* and their families, even though they were not officially entitled to them.¹⁵¹

Despite the Signoria's impulse, not enough food was supplied. In June and September 1481, he made two *mostre* at the insistence of the *stratioti*.¹⁵² At the June *mostra*, Minio wrote that he had taken three *bollette*, for the *stratioti*, the *capi*, and the *provisionati*. The *stratioti* elected three *capi*--Paulo Lulucho, Duciso "Gaidari" (Donkey) Comi, and Nicula Agallioti--to take these *bollette* to Venice to petition for payment: no cash had come their way for two years. Minio was disgruntled: "I have been hard put to have to consent for them to send all three, when one or two would be enough," ("Io son stato molto duro a dover consentir che mandero tutti tre, quando uno solo over do bastava"), but he hoped the Signoria would pay. He bought grain that summer, some of it

¹⁴⁶ *Dispacci* f 16r and 138.23 for 21 May 1480; f 16v and 139.13 for 1 Jun 1480.

¹⁴⁷ Senato Mar R. 9, f 20v for 12 April 1480.

¹⁴⁸ In a letter the next year, he mentioned in passing that one reason for the reduced harvest of 1480 was that the *stratioti* had been working on the walls in anticipation of the Ottoman attack. *Dispacci* f 37r and 167.

¹⁴⁹ Appendix 4.

¹⁵⁰ *Dispacci* f 30r and 158.1-4 for 18 February 1480[81], also f 11v and 133.5 for 17 April 1480. Zorzi Todescho seems not to have been repaid the 200 ducats he lent a year earlier. Minio, in writing about Todescho, said he was recommending him "per rispetto de la sua persona." *Dispacci* f 25v and 151 for 31 January 1480.

¹⁵¹ *Dispacci* f 25v and 155.39-42 for 19 February 1480.

¹⁵² *Dispacci* f 35v and 165-166 for 9 June 1481; f 37v-38r and 169 for 1 August 1481.

from *stratioti* who had preempted state-owned lands and who were refusing to pay the *somazo* and *zamori*.¹⁵³

The Senato Mar made another gesture at pacifying the *stratioti*, at least for a while. The *stratioti* received money at the end of July and in early October, Ieronimo Morosini sent 1220 ducats by the Captain General.¹⁵⁴ When they made the *mostra*, they found grave questions of "errori et fraude" and sixty dead, levanted, and discharged ("morti et scampadi et cassi") *stratioti* were removed from the rolls.¹⁵⁵ *Cancellieri* swarmed like flies. Zàn di Stellazi, who had been selected by the *stratioti* while the three *capi* were in Venice, acquired 100 ducats, 70 of which came by collecting 3 *marcelli* each from the *capi* and *provisionati*, and 2 from the *stratioti*. He was ready to take their *bollete* to Venice. Meanwhile, the *capi*--Laluchò, Comi, and Agallioti--had Nicolò Dacha, whom they acquired in Methone on the way back from Venice. Nicolò had already been paid a base salary of 25 ducats for the job, and he had the *bolletta* for the *capi* in hand. Minio had no problem with letting Zàn di Stellazi take *bollette* to Venice, but the *stratioti* were starting to take sides, and there was every prospect of unpleasantness, "because these *stratioti* are noisy and unstable people, men that look for trouble in every little thing." He collected up the *bollette* and sent them with his letter to the Signoria who "will most wisely arrange as seems fitting to provide their pay, as you have done until now."¹⁵⁶

By 13 December everyone was on half-rations (the eighty *ballestrieri* from Candia were down to fifty from illness and desertions). Again he wrote dourly that they would be forced to levant and abandon their aforesaid guard duty.¹⁵⁷ In January 1481[82], Minio reported in a particularly informative letter that there had been no grain, "non un granello," for two months. He listed his responsibilities "according to the promise Your Majesty made" ("per la promission fece la Vostra Maestà"):

- i stratioti de tre page al'anno
- i soldati promesse page 5 al'anno, uno stera al mexe
- i ballestrieri di Candia numero 50, stera uno
- quelli di guarda la forteza del'Isola soldati 25, mezo stero al mexi
- quelli di guarda le altre forteze del Toron, et castelli di Grechi
- quelli di guarda al castello di Thermissi¹⁵⁸

When he made the *mostra* of the *fanti*, he found "226 vive paghe," that is, two hundred and twenty-six real people. *Condotte* were written up in various ways, one of which was to list some number of non-existent *fanti*, *paghe morte*, for whom payment would be made, thus providing the *contestabeli* involved with a better income.¹⁵⁹ As the *ballestrieri* had received only "ducats xx" in twenty-six months, they were going to be forced to sell their *bolletta* for less than half the value ("de vender i suo bollettini per

¹⁵³ *Dispacci* f 32v and 161.42-45 for 14 March 1481. *Dispacci* f 35v and 166 for 9 June 1481.

¹⁵⁴ *Dispacci* f 42v and 176.39 for 5 October 1481. He reports 1204 ducats here and 1220 ducats later.

¹⁵⁵ *Dispacci* f 40r and 174.11-12 for 8 October 1481.

¹⁵⁶ *Dispacci* f 43v and 178 for 8 October 1481: "per esser questi *Stratioti* zente volubile et instabile: e homeni che per ogni piccola cossa cercha scandolo." "La qual sapientissima desponera como a quella piacerà al provvedimento de i suo denari como lha fatto in fina hora."

¹⁵⁷ *Dispacci* f 40r and 174.6-11 for 8 October 1481; f 48v and 186.1 for 13 December 1481: "li sera forzo de levarsi et abandonar la custodia predicta."

¹⁵⁸ *Dispacci* f 48r and 186 for 7-16 January 1481, regularized for clarity.

¹⁵⁹ A *condotta* Minio wrote up when he was on Crete included several entries of the sort: "contestabele con equo otto e 2 paga mortua." *Dispacci: Crete* ff 9v-10r. Mallett and Hale, 124.

manco de la mita”) if they could find anyone to buy it. A necessary survival tactic in an abusive situation but eventually disastrous: a company would sometimes sell off its *bolletta* for some percentage of its face value--in this case, less than one-half--for the sake of cash.¹⁶⁰

The *contestabeli* who had earlier made loans to Minio would have been lending from their own savings or from a company treasury. These companies were supposed to have their own *cancellieri* who would hold the *camere*, money sent for their pay--and who would make loans to them as needed. Neither the old nor the new *contestabeli* had a place to borrow, and Minio asked the Signoria to let them have their *camere*, treasuries, back.

Their treasuries, about which I have had information from their *cancellieri* that they were suspended, so that neither the old nor the new *contestabeli* have treasuries. They have no credit to make them able to get help from anyone. I ask Your Excellencies to please direct that these *contestabeli*, the new as well as the old, have their own treasuries.¹⁶¹

When this happened is not clear, but within a few months there was another *cancellier* for the *contestabeli*, neither Zan di Stellazi nor Nicolò Dacha from Methone but Antonio da Milan, and in December, Minio mentioned that the *fanti* were “calm, as they are only missing one pay of their *condotta*.”¹⁶² But by early January 1481[82], Antonio da Milan was himself going to Venice to represent the 226 *fanti* who were cold and hungry.¹⁶³

When Vettore Soranzo, the Captain General, arrived on the 18th of March, the soldiers very nearly rioted:

When the Magnificent Captain General arrived here, the *stratioti* and soldiers went after him, and gave him great stimulus to make them some kind of money payment. Having had no subvention of grain for 8 months, they are in the greatest distress.¹⁶⁴

His Magnificence paid up in cash, “as I am certain Your Signoria has been informed in detail by His Magnificence’s letter.”¹⁶⁵ He left on the 21st, taking a “bombarda grossa,” a large cannon, and 30 *marcelli* of powder for Santorini, promising to return. But he had not provided food. Once again Minio wrote:

The grain which was in Your Signoria’s storehouse has been used up and, there has been none for eight months now, and if Your Signoria will not

¹⁶⁰ *Dispacci* f 48r and 186.42-43 for 7-16 January 1481. Mallett and Hale, 127.

¹⁶¹ *Dispacci* f 11v and 132 for 23 March 1480: “. . . le camere de i qual perlo information hano havuto da i suo cancellieri li sono sta suspesi per modo che non habiando camere cussi li vechi come i novi contestabeli, non haveva credito di poter haver soccorso da alcuna persona . . . suplico a Vostra Excellentia gli piagi comandar che gli detti contestabeli cussi li novi come li vechi, habiano le suo camere.” The position of *cancellier* for the *contestabeli*’s treasury was another of the jobs traditionally reserved for patricians, although that has not appeared to be the case with any of these *cancellieri*.

¹⁶² *Dispacci* f 48r and 185 for 13 December 1481: “in calmo, per modo che non gli manco pur una paga de la sua condotta.”

¹⁶³ *Dispacci* f 49r and 186.29-37 for 16 January 1481[82].

¹⁶⁴ *Dispacci* f 55r and 194 for 23 March 1482: “. . . che essendo venuto dequi la M^a del Cap. Gnal. questi *Stratioti* et soldati li fo ale spalle et hali dato gran stimulo che li provedesse de qualche subvention de danari pero che essendoli mancata la subvention del formento da mexi 8 inqua se atrovano in grandissima necessità.”

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*: “son certo la V.S. per lettera de sua Magnificentia sera particolarmente informata.” Minio is not a humorist, but it is difficult to think that he did not write this letter with a certain sense of satisfaction.

arrange to send some here and quickly, I do not know how it can keep these *stratoti* and soldiers.¹⁶⁶

Minio kept writing that this was grain which the Signoria had promised ("i qual V.S. promesse") for their loyalty and long service ("per la sua fede et longo servire"); that the requests were fair and honest ("justa et honesta"). At the end of March, before his letters reached Venice, the Senato Mar did vote relief:

It is [a matter of] humanity, piety, and responsibility that our government be compassionate and pay our unfortunate military and sailors of our fleet [who are] in the greatest need, not the least the *stratoti* in our eastern provinces. It is proposed that the captain general be sent 5000 ducats.¹⁶⁷

The Captain General left extra money: Minio reported he was able to give grain to the soldiers and cash to the *ballestrieri* for Easter. Even so, at the end of April, Minio wrote that it was now eight months since there had been grain in the storehouse, the *stratoti* were overdue by three *bollette* and they were bringing two more *bollette* to Venice, and again, that "everyone is on my back," ("ogni de me sono ale spalle").

Sopracomito Angelo Barozzi brought letters and a replacement bombard, but no food, and he was in too much of a hurry to take Minio's answer or even to unload the barrels of powder for the bombard. Zuam Pisani, traveling with him, asked Minio to send 100 *stratoti* to Santorini, but Minio insisted he did not have the authority to release them, in part, because he was concerned that they would not get the rest of the pay still due them. Besides, they wanted 6 ducats apiece for an enlistment bonus which Pisani could not pay.

Costanzo Loredan arrived on 19 May to collect *stratoti* for Ferrara, and paid out more than 1200 ducats.¹⁶⁸ But Loredan's money was only for those *stratoti* going to Italy and the *fanti* were in trouble. Minio made no mention of the harvest when he wrote on 28 May, nor did he on 7 July, it was ten months without grain and twenty more *fanti* levanted.¹⁶⁹ The pirates were out in full force. Minio's situation was no better in September when he wrote:

I inform VM that the *fanti* sent to this territory as guard, who have not had a payment in money for 9 months, and have lacked grain payments for a year when they are supposed to be paid every month, are reduced to extreme want.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ *Dispacci* f 55r and 194: 21, 25-29 for 24 March 1482; also f 53v and 192.27; f 24r and 149: "El formento che era in questa munition de la V.S. e consumado et mancado da 8 mexi in qua, et se la V.S. non provedera de mandarne et presto: non so a che modo se potra tegnire questi *stratoti* et soldati."

¹⁶⁷ *Sathas* VII, 28-29, for 26 March 1482: "Humanum, pium et debitum est quod per dominium nostrum compassionentur et subveniantur miserabiles turme et classicarii classis nostre in summa inopia constituti, vel minus Stratoti locorum nostrorum Orientis, . . . Vadit, mittantur ad capitaneum nostrum generalem maris prefatum ducati quinque mille." Senato Mar R. 9, f 138. *Turme*, military units; from Byzantine Greek τοῦρμα, where it meant a military unit of 3000 troops.

¹⁶⁸ *Dispacci* f 58 and 198 for 24 May 1482.

¹⁶⁹ *Dispacci* f 61v-62r and 203 for 7 July 1482. Certain numbers, like a third of the stratot or fanti, are reiterated in similar contexts. Here Minio is down to 200 from his expected 300, although he has reported regularly on the decrease. Still, he seems to find it a matter of particular note that Antonio Marinato's company has dropped from 54 to 47.

¹⁷⁰ *Dispacci* f 62 r and 205.21-25 for 9 September 1482: "Notifico a la V.M. che questi fanti deputadi ad custodia de questa terra i qual mexi 9 in qua non hanno havuto subvention alcuna de danari et e za uno anno che li e mancata la subvention de formento che ogni mexe soleva essser subventui de formento sono reducte ad extreme neccessita, etc."

There must have been a shipment of biscuit in July or August: on 11 September, Minio said that it was in bad condition, but he had needed to use it anyway. Then he finally mentioned what might have been anticipated, given this variation from the pattern of the two preceding summers:

There is no hope of having grain here, because the grain harvest has been very bad: there is famine and scarcity because of having had a very bad grain harvest.¹⁷¹

He wrote a terse letter to the Captain General:

I inform VM that these *fanti* have had no payment in money for 9 months, and it has been almost a year since they have had a payment in grain.¹⁷²

This was not at all what he had expected a year earlier when he had seen every sign of bringing in the largest harvest yet.¹⁷³ By the end of October, the 220 *fanti* of May were down to “170 mal condictionati.”

In this sequence of letters, in the midst of hunger, it is almost a shock to come across a short and disproportionately fulsome letter to the Signoria:

To the Magnificent Advocates of the Council of Venice: Magnificent and glorious honored Fathers. In recent days, in execution of Your Magnificences' letter of 13 June last, I have written and am sending you an account of the money received here and paid out for the *contestabeli* sent for the guard of this territory in March 1481 [sic]. Nevertheless, having just received another from Your Magnificences of 22 July, and again on the enclosed list I am sending the specific count, according to the form of your letter.¹⁷⁴

The letter from the Great Council written 13 June had taken more than four months to arrive; a letter from 22 July took more than three. But more striking is the concern for bookkeeping. There was, of course, a specific provision for reporting income and outgo every three months, apparently of more concern than the contracts with the *contestabeli*.¹⁷⁵

The *provveditor* of the Fleet, Christoforo Duodo, arrived at Nauplion with seven galleys on 9 November, and immediately sent three after pirates. He was the beneficiary of another difficult incident with the *stratioti*. Minio concluded:

The *stratioti* remaining here, apart from those who have gone with the fleet, met with the Magnificent *Provveditor* of the Fleet and me, and complained

¹⁷¹ *Dispacci* f 62 and 204.1-3, 29 for 11 September 1482: “De qui non e da sperar de haver formento perche la ricolta dele biave ha resposo malissimo et e carestia et mancamento . . . per haver havuto malissima ricolta dele suo biave.”

¹⁷² *Dispacci* f 63r and 205.22-24 for 25 October 1482: “Notifico a la V.M. que questi fanti . . . i qual mexi 9 in qua non hanno havuto subvention alcuna de danari, et è za uno anno che li è mancato la subvention de formento.” It had been, for a year and a half, the responsibility of the camera of Padua to send money.

¹⁷³ *Dispacci* f 45v and 181.42-43 for 8 November 1481.

¹⁷⁴ *Dispacci* f 63r and 205 for 25 October 1482: “Magnificis Advocatoribus consil. Venetiarum. Magnifice et gloriosi Patres honorandi. Quancus his proximis diebus in execution de le lettere de le Vostre Magnificentie de XIII zugno proximo passato habia scritto et mandato à quelle i conti de i danari ricevuti de que, et dispensato a questi contestabli, ad custodia de questo luogo deputati da l'anno 1481 de marzo in qua, tamen haviando noviter ricevuto un'altra de la Vostre Magnificentie de XXII Lujo, iterum et de novo per la lista introclusa mando i detti conti particolarmente, secondo le forme de le Vostre lettere.” Here, Minio, or the Council, mis-remembered the date the *fanti* arrived: he had first written about them on 1 March 1480.

¹⁷⁵ Sathas I, 284: “Debes scribere vel scribi facere in uno quarterno omnes afflictus, introitus, et exitus, et expensas ac totum havere . . . per sua literas denotare, faciendo quolibet mense omnes tres simul rationem de omnibus introitibus, et expensis.”

that for about a year they have had no payment of money, which puts them into extreme need. We met with them and tried to sweet-talk them, which did not satisfy them. V.S. will most wisely do as you please.¹⁷⁶

There is no further mention in the *dispacci*--there are four subsequent letters--of food and pay, but considerable supplies must have been sent out, as Minio appears to have had great support from the *fanti* and *stratioti*, and they made a grand impression at several appearances before the flamburar in February 1482 and March 1483. Later in Minio's career, when he was captain in Nicosia and Famagusta in 1498, and after that in Crete in 1500, he was writing the same letters about the lack of food and the same Venetian failure to pay the promised, contracted wages.¹⁷⁷

■ The Ferrara Draft

. . . mediante l'ajuto de Dio et de San Marco glorioso . . .

In April 1481, while occupied with the Kladas and Bua uprisings, Minio was directed to canvass the *stratioti* about a draft to fight in Friuli. The Senato had voted in February 1480[81] to hire 800 *stratioti*, with 10 pays a year of 3 ducats a pay, and 10 ducats apiece as an enlistment bonus.¹⁷⁸ Minio estimated that between 150 and 200 *stratioti* would be available from Nauplion. The first time he proposed the idea to the *capi*, they turned him down with assorted excuses and reasons, but he kept calling them back, and after the fourth round, they elected four of their group who would go with their bands: "Zorzi Bozikē, and the brave Gini Blessa, the brave knight *miser* Zonga Caratolla, the brave knight *miser* Marin Climenti."¹⁷⁹ Two other *capi*, Piero Frossine and another of very low quality ("de piu bassa condition") volunteered to go with them, but Minio suspected

¹⁷⁶ *Dispacci* f 65r and 207.40 - 208.2 for 14 November 148: "Questi Stratioti rimasti de qui, ultra quelli che sono andati cum l'armata: comparseno a la Mag. del prefato proveditor delarmata et a mi. Et hase dolesto che le circha uno anno che non hanno havuto subvention alcuna de danari. Permodo che se atrovano ad extreme necessita. Nui le respondessemo et confortassemo cum dolce parole le qual non le satisfa: la V. S. sapientissima proveda como gli piace." Apparently the *bolletta* taken the previous April had not yet been paid.

¹⁷⁷ See, for example, the summaries in Sanudo II, 19; III, 1148, 1152; IV, 82.

¹⁷⁸ *Secreta R.* 29, f 164. This order came in the names of the "Sapientes Consilii, Sapientes Terre Firme, Sapientes Ordinum." Sathas VII, 280.

¹⁷⁹ *Dispacci* f 32v-33v and 161-162, 162 for 30 April 1481; f 52 and 190-191 for 15 February 1481[82]: "Zorzi Bozikē, et el strenuo Gini Blessa, el strenuo cavalier *miser* Zonga Caratolla, el strenuo cavalier *miser* Marin Climenti." Zorzi Bozikē was also a knight: these knightships had been given by Venice as appreciation for service in the recent war. Zorzi Bozikē led a band at Nauplion during the war, and kept Jacopo Barbarigo informed on Turkish movements. Barbarigo, 64.37-41. All four of these men had relatives in the Kladas and Bua revolts. Some of Bozikē's relatives were in prison in Nauplion, and Zorzi Bozikē and Marin Climenti had been stripped of their rank as *provisionati* in the December *mostra*. Caratolla and Climenti were go-betweens in negotiating the Kladas settlement. Years later, Climenti was given an additional provision of 60 ducats a year for his part at the defense of Nauplion during the Ottoman siege of 1500. Ploumides 267, #52.

they expected to be paid anyway, and thought Venice should take people who were more tractable (“sono piu tractabeli”).¹⁸⁰

There was less war in Friuli than rumor of war. Magno did report: “3 thousand Turks attacked as far as the borders of Istria and Friuli, and took away 300 souls.”¹⁸¹ In fact, the draftees from Nauplion were to be among the 12,237 cavalry and 1700 infantry the Signoria was discreetly gathering for a planned attack on Ferrara. The summer passed without further directions and in September, Minio wrote that he was sending them overland to Lepanto where the Captain General would ship them on to Durazzo to meet up with the galley convoy (“le galie de i viazi”) for Venice.¹⁸² This did not happen, and there is no more comment until the following summer.

In May of 1482, Venice, presuming on the reliability of a Papal alliance, claimed border issues with Ferrara as the reason for the attack.¹⁸³ Other Italian cities took Ferrara’s side and what was to have been short and efficient became a four-year war. Summer marsh fever went through the Venetian army besieging Ferrara, and then through the armies besieging the Venetians.¹⁸⁴

Following earlier instructions from the Senato, Costanzo Loredan arrived at Nauplion on 19 May 1482 to hire *stratoti* with some of the 400,000 ducats that was being spent monthly for the war.¹⁸⁵ Captain General Soranzo had sent Minio 1200 gold ducats with instructions to offer *stratoti* 4 ducats, *provisionati* 6, and *capi* 8, for a total of 200-220 *stratoti* with their commanders. Minio immediately called together all the *capi* and *provisionati* (“feci convocar tutti i capi et provisionati”), and presented the Senato’s offer. The offer was badly timed: it came during the barley harvest on which the *stratoti* depended: Soranzo’s offer was promptly rejected. After lunch, Minio called the *capi* and *provisionati* “nel mio palazzo” and began to work on them again while Loredan listened.¹⁸⁶ Ignoring Minio’s “dolce parole,” they all talked at once, told him that this was too little money, that they had all worked long and hard for Venice, that in the past twenty-two months they had had nothing but two pays of money and a superfluity of words. He was taken aback by their vehemence.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁰ *Dispacci* f 33r and 162.11-16 for 30 April 1481. Frossine had a *provision* paid by the camera a Nauplion, in recognition of his losses during the war.

¹⁸¹ Magno 232.3-5: “Turchi 3 mila corse ai confini de Histria et Freul . . . et meno via anime 300; havesse adi 8 Decembre.”

¹⁸² *Dispacci* f 42r and 176.11-18 for 27 September 1481.

¹⁸³ Antonio Loredan q. Alvise q. Zuane was *provveditor generale* but died of “marsh fever” the first summer. *Arbori*, IV.19.325. Mallett and Hale, 175 and n91.

¹⁸⁴ Lane, *Venice*, 216-217 has a dispassionate half-paragraph account of the Ferrara war. Mallett and Hale, 43, 52-6, give a detailed account of Venetian cynicism and opportunism. In contrast, John Julius Norwich, *A History of Venice* (New York, 1982) 360-361, omits all mention of an attack and lays responsibility on “the other states of Italy” and the Pope. “Marsh fever” is a spectrum of symptoms encouraged by a compromised water system, inadequate sanitary facilities, hot weather, and malaria.

¹⁸⁵ Costanzo Loredan q. Francesco, about 37 years old at this time, was complimented two years later for his leadership and courage in an engagement at Gallipoli. He died in 1491. *Arbori*, IV.19.333. It was Costanzo Loredan who had gone to Nauplion the previous May to help with construction, but then had to leave to take the news of Mehmed’s death. *Dispacci* f 34-35r and 163-165 for 20 and 21 May 1481. The total contribution of all the terraferma treasuries, the primary source of military financing, was 800,000 ducats a year. Mallett and Hale, 130.

¹⁸⁶ *Dispacci* f 58v and 198.44 for 24 May 1482.

¹⁸⁷ This narrative comes from *dispacci* ff 58r-60v and 198-201 for 24 May; ff 60v-61v and 201-202 for 28 May 1482: “tanta abundantia de parole . . . che era superflue.”

Costanzo Loredan called him into another room and handed him his commission from the Senato, plus a letter from the Captain General saying that Minio was to regard Loredan as if he were the Captain General himself (“la persona de essa Vostra Excelentia”). With the *cancellier* listening (Minio was embarrassed to have a witness), Loredan told Minio that he was to find the best men, most worthy of confidence, and have them select the *stratioti* for Ferrara. Minio wrote, “And I said to him:

Know, *miser* Costanzo, that the magnificent general wrote me and told me how much to give each *capo*, the *provisionati*, and *stratioti*, otherwise I would not wish to ignore your instructions.¹⁸⁸

To which *miser* Costanzo Loredan replied:

Doesn’t the general write you in the letter I brought that you should regard me as if he were here in person? I have his instructions not only limiting the number, but the number he wants. I am informing you that his Magnificence has 4000 ducats from the Signoria for 400 *stratioti*, and therefore it is the intent of the Signoria and his Magnificence that you not stint on money, so they can have the *stratioti*.¹⁸⁹

“So, that is my opinion and *miser* Costanzo’s” (“Siche la mia opinion e de *miser* Costanzo”). They decided then to offer the *stratioti* 5, 8, and 10, and went back into the other room so Minio could talk to the *capi*. It took another three hours to accomplish nothing and Minio felt thoroughly insulted by the *capi* before it was over, especially by Piero Bozikē, Gini Frossini, and Caracassimi.

The next day, Monday, 20 May, Minio met with the *capi* again, this time in the chancery in the lower city.¹⁹⁰ He told Loredan on the way down the stepped road from Akro-Nauplion that the *capi* were barbarous people, without any civilized traits, “questa esser zente barbara, senza alcuna humanità.” He gave them kindness, arguments, not a few words (“dolceze, argomenti, et non poche parole”), and lunch. Finally losing patience, he appointed ten *capi*, and told them to get their people together.¹⁹¹ Piero Bozikē was clearly leading the resistance to him, but he had been less vehement than on the previous day. Still, nothing more was accomplished that day.

On Tuesday, 21 May, Minio made a call-up (“fatte le cride”) to all the *catune* for the *stratioti* to present themselves for enrollment. Loredan signed up 170 *stratioti* at 5 ducats apiece, 33 *provisionati* at 8, and 10 *capi* at 10, which was a total of 213 men for a cost of 1214 ducats. This cost a little more than the 1200 ducats Minio expected, but it was

¹⁸⁸ *Dispacci* f 59r: “Et io digandoli: Sapiate meser Constanzo chel M.co gnal me scrive limitadamensi quanto di dia dar a cadaun capo provisionati et Stratioti. Siche non voria preterir i vostri comandamenti.”

¹⁸⁹ *Dispacci* f 159r: “Non ve scrive el gnal per la lettera che ve ho portado che tu me debi veder come la sua persona propria? Io ho comandamento dala sua M.na non solamente numero limitato: ma sia che numero che se voglia pur che se faza el numero de i Stratioti. per che te aviso che sua M.na ha havuto ducati IIII mila dala S.ia per far 400 Stratioti. E pero la intencion de la S.ia e dela sua M.na sie che non si guarde aldenaro pur che se habia el numero dei Stratioti.”

¹⁹⁰ A representation of the shift in negotiating power.

¹⁹¹ The *capi* were Piero Bozikē, Duma Bozikē (carried messages between Minio and the Kladaioti), Sogan Caratolla, Marin Climenti knight (both of these relatives of Ismail, voivode), *Ser* Zorzi Alberto (held the fief of Castri), Zorzi Bozikē, Dimi Blessa, Alessi (“Greaves”) Gambiera, Andrea (“Sword”) Spatharo, Elia Bua, Thodero Niti. This draft was after the settlement of the Kladas rebellion, and these *capi* may have had more confidence. Three had been elected a year earlier to go, as mentioned above.

only half of the number of men Costanzo wanted and well under the 4000 ducats he had in hand.¹⁹²

They left Nauplion at noon on Sunday, 26 May, “on the holy day of Easter, with the help of God and of glorious S. Marco, praying Eternal God to grant happy victory.”¹⁹³ Minio accompanied the *stratioti* as far as Tiryns, which marked the territorial boundary, to see them off on the ride overland to Lepanto where the Captain General would put them on boats for Italy. Minio’s friendship with Ahmed Paşa had obtained a safe-conduct across Ottoman territory for them.¹⁹⁴ Minio warned Loredan that if the boats were not in Lepanto to pick up the *stratioti* who would be there in twenty-eight days without fail (“infallanter”), there would be hell to pay (“gran disordine”).¹⁹⁵

More and more men were needed at Ferrara. Further call-ups were made in the Levant and another 540 enlisted later that year at Nauplion under the general command of Piero Bozikē.¹⁹⁶ In October, Minio commented that the *Signoria*’s ships were useless against pirates because they were involved with the attack on Ferrara, and in November he referred to “the *stratioti* remaining here, beyond those who have gone with the fleet.”¹⁹⁷ The next year it was reported that “Nicolò ‘Red’ Contarini was sent to the Morea for 1000 *stratioti*.”¹⁹⁸ But on this matter, as with so many others, Minio had no need from his point of view to write further and there are many gaps.

¹⁹² *Dispacci* f 61r and 202 for 28 May 1482. The *capi* wanted more, but they agreed to go with some vague promise of getting more. Loredan must have found the *stratioti* levy a difficult experience, and he may not have been the only one. On 8 January 1482, the Senato Mar resolved: “deberet unus noster nobilis mittendus ad loca nostra Orientis pro levandis et conducendis ad has partes Stratiotis . . . non erit possibile, ut unus solus supplere possit, necessarium est providere; proinde. Vadit pars quod per scrutinium in hoc consilio eligi debeant duo nostri nobiles mittendi ad levandos Stratiotas, ut in parte ipsa continetur, nec possint refutare sub pena ducatorum mille, ultra omnes alias penas et stricturas . . .”; “one of our nobles ought to be sent to our places in the Orient for raising *stratioti* and bringing them to these parts. It will not be possible that one alone can complete [the assignment]; it is necessary to provide accordingly. It is resolved that two of our nobles elected by scrutiny in this council should be sent to raise *stratioti*, as are retained in this very area, nor can they refuse without a penalty of 1000 ducats, besides all other penalties and restrictions.” Senato Mar R. 11, f 159 and Sathas VII, 31. A further order was sent for 1000 Moreote *stratioti* in December 1483. Senato Mar R. 11, f 188 and Sathas VII, 34 for 27 December 1482.

¹⁹³ *Dispacci* f 59v and 200.27; f 61r and 202.14: “dominica de matina zorno dela santa pasqua mediante lajuto de dio et de Sanmarco glorioso . . . supplicando lo eterno Idio li concedi felice victoria.” Pentecost was 26 May in 1482, not Easter: Minio was distracted in both letters. This kind of error suggests that, rather than dictating the information from the previous letter again, he would simply direct the secretary to pick up what needed to be resent.

¹⁹⁴ *Dispacci* f 61 and 202 for 28 May 1482.

¹⁹⁵ It is distressing to learn that the first 500 Moreote *stratioti* (specified as being from Methone, Corone, Monemvasia and Nauplion), who with their horses were taken up the Po by ship and disembarked at Argenta, fell “a le man co’l Duca d’Urbino, e l’ha rotto.” *Malipiero*, 263. The Duke of Urbino was Federigo da Montefeltro, patron of Piero della Francesca.

¹⁹⁶ Lamprynides, 89, where he refers to Minio as Βερτουκίος Μίνιος.

¹⁹⁷ *Dispacci* ff 63-64r and 206.5-26 for 25 October; f 65r and 207.40-41 for 14 November 1482: “questi Stratioti rimasti de qui, ultra quelli che sono andati cum l’armata.”

¹⁹⁸ *Malipiero*, 289: “È stà spazzà su la Morea Nicolò Contarini el Rosso per 1000 Stradiothi.” In 1487, *ser* Francesco Cicogna, *provveditor* of the Fleet, was sent out to collect another 1500 *stratioti* from Nauplion, Methone, Corone, and Lepanto. Sathas VII, 308 for 6 April 1487.

■ Antonio Marinato's Excellent Adventure

. . . *i miglior che fosse in questa terra* . . .

When Antonio Marinato arrived in Nauplion on 22 February 1480, Minio wrote in some irritation that he, and the other two *contestabeli* with him, and their *fanti* “are young, inexperienced, and bare of all provisions and equipment” (“sono zoveni, inesperti et nudi de ogni condicione et substantia”) There wasn’t a *granello* of grain in the storehouse to give them. None of the *contestabeli* and their men were pleased with the situation, and, as he dictated all in one breath:

They were all crying on my shoulders and complaining to me that I ought to do something to keep them alive, and not having anything I can pay them with and support them, I am terribly worried, and so over and over again I beg and plead with Your Signoria to please provide grain and more grain, as fast as possible.¹⁹⁹

It was not an optimistic beginning, but however inexperienced, Marinato and his fifty-four men, did far better than most. After that first summer of illness when more than half the men had died from “the illness common just now” (“la malatie usano al presente”), Marinato still had fifty.²⁰⁰ In September 1482, Marinato had forty-seven men in his company and Minio thought this number was low.

Marinato’s new company was among the “volunteers” who worked on the walls in May and June of 1480, in anticipation of Ottoman attack. Unlike the *stratioti*, these companies were (on paper) given five pays of grain a year, they had no harvests to get in, and they were available. As Minio wrote:

They have been most obedient to all my orders. The contestabili are: Zorzi Todescho, Antonio Marinato, Baron de Legnago, Batista da Chataro, Schiaveto da Servia, Pasqual da Este with their companies.²⁰¹

Marinato stood out, and he may have been as well-liked by his peers as by Minio. In January 1480[81], Marinato went to the Signoria on behalf of the other *contestabeli*. This means, among other things, that they were willing to pay his travel expenses to go home: Padua was less than a day’s ride away from Venice.

Among the *contestabeli*, is the worthy Antonio Marinato from Padua. He is a competent man, a good leader, and takes part in all the obligations here, the guard as well as the construction, and other efforts. He is the best assistant, completely obedient, with a willing spirit.²⁰²

¹⁹⁹ *Dispacci* f 11r and 131.24-27 for 1 March 1480: “ogni di me sono à le spalle cridando et prestandome che debia proveder al suo viver et io non habiando depoterli subvegnire et mantegnire me atrovo in grandissimo affanno: pero iterum atque iterum suplicitando exorto la V. S. gli piage proveder de formento. formento. et formento. et quanto piu presto sia possibile.”

²⁰⁰ *Dispacci* f 64v and 204.36 for 11 September 1482; f 25r and 150.19 for 31 January 1480. Minio doesn’t say whether these were the originals, or replacements. A *condotta* was for a particular number of men: company numbers were kept up with new hires, or by taking in men from a dissolving company.

²⁰¹ *Dispacci* f 17r and 139.38-41 for 14 June 1480: “sono stati obedientissimi ad ogni mio comandamento. I qual contestabili sono questi: Zorzi Todescho, Antonio Marinato, Baron de Legnago, Batista da Chataro, Schiaveto da Servia, Pasqual da Este con le suo compagne.”

²⁰² *Dispacci* f 25r and 150 for 15 January 1480[81]: “Fra questi constestabili . . . se atrova il strenuo Antonio

Zorzi da Todescho, one of the *vechii contestabeli*, also went to Venice on behalf of all the “contestabeli, caporali et lo resto.” Minio doesn’t say when Marinato returned from Venice, but beginning with the death of Mehmed II that June, and continuing into the winter, the coasts from Negroponte to Manē were infested with pirates. Still, it was necessary to go beyond the immediate area for wood, if the construction was to continue. Marinato took a number of men from his company, loaded the *maran* with other soldiers and workers, and went down to Spetses to get wood, towing his own *fusta* behind them.²⁰³ This is Minio’s account about what happened: he was determined to make the Senato feel guilty and he was feeling a great deal of guilt on his own account, as he had given the original orders:

In the enclosed I have written Your Excellencies about the attacks made by the Turkish *fuste*, etc; thus, since it happens that I have not been able to have the assistance of a galley for the construction, and still it seemed to me, but still doing as much as I could without it. So as not to lose time., and so that the expense of the *maran* and the stonecutters would not be in vain, I brought out the *maran* and put some men and soldiers in it, and the *contestabeli* and *caporali* in charge of them. I sent it to cut wood in the canal to burn in the furnace for lime, and Antonio Marinato, *contestabele*, was on it with *soldati* and other men to load it, and they took the *maran* into the canal at Spetsai. Antonio Marinato boarded his *fusta* which he had taken for loading the wood, and went ashore where they cut wood, and there was also a *grippo* belonging to Your Signoria sent for construction before the *maran* had been brought out, and they were attacked at night by Turkish *fuste*, and *contestabele* Antonio and the soldiers and 16 other men were taken. I have had the greatest anguish about this, both because of the *contestabele* himself who was a competent man, loyal, and most obedient, as well as for the *soldati* and other men taken.²⁰⁴

Marinato da Padoa . . . el qual e homo sufficiente et de bon governo et in tutti i servizii accade de qui cussi ale custodie come ala fabrica et altri servitii . . . neho optimo servitio cum ogni obedientia et animo prompto.” *Dispaccio* f 25r and 150.33-34 for 31 January 1480[81]. The Todescho family apparently continued as mercenaries at Nauplion. In 1535, an Antonio Todesco was capo of the Nauplion *bombardieri*. *Relationes* 245.

²⁰³ It would be interesting to know how Antonio Marinato managed to do so well for himself since his arrival twenty months earlier. Starting with nothing, he was able to acquire a *fusta*, and before his capture, he had lent Minio money a number of times to pay his company. *Dispaccio* f 48^r and 185.17-19 for 13 December 1481: “Chel ditto contestabile avati la sua captura haveva remesso molte page per fornire la sua cuncta, per li qual se ha impegnado et indebitado de gran summa de danari.” With that *fusta*, had he been engaged in a little piracy himself?

²⁰⁴ *Dispacci* f 43r and 177 for 9 October 1481: “Perle allegate scripsi a V. Ex.tia circa i danni comessi per fuste de Turchi etc. Dapoi intravene che non havendo io possudo mai haver avuto ajuto de galia per la fabrichea. Et pur fazando il poter mio senza per non perder tempo et acio che la spesa del maran et tajapieri non sera in vano: exercitando el maran et mettando homeni et soldati sopra quello: et fazando soprastar a questi contestabeli et caporali: havendolo mandato acargar legne in questo canal per bruser una fornace de calcina: et essendo Antonio Marinato contestabile sopra quello cum soldadi et altri homeni per cargarlo: si ando il maran sotto il canal de le Spetie. Et detto Antonio Marinato monto sopra una fusta sua le qual conduceva per farla cagar de legne: per andar in terra dove se tagliava le legne: et dove era etiam el grippo de la V. S. fatto per la fabrica avanti fosse condotto el maran furona arsaltadi de nocte da fuste de Turchi et presso ildetto Antonio contestabile con soldadi et altri homeni in N. 16 dela qualcosa ne ho havuto grandissimo affanno: si per la persona del detto contestabile qual era homo sufficiente fidel et obedientissimo: como etiam qui i soldadi et altri homeni presi.” The island of Spetsai was and still is heavily-wooded, mostly with pine; it was called Pityoussa for πίτυς--pine.

Clearly, if Nauplion had been sent the requested galley, it would have been useful for building, protecting the coast, and defending against Turkish *fuste*. The particular *fuste* involved were well-known: they had been seen in the gulf and beyond, and they had also made several attacks on the Venetian-held island of Aigina. Minio concluded by reminding the Senato that he had been in this place for twenty-three months: “questo luocho, za mexi XXIII.”²⁰⁵

The letter was read in the Senato five weeks later, on 29 November. Stefano Magno’s history reported it like this:

Four *fuste* came into the gulf of Nauplia de Romania, and a *fusta* from Nauplion loaded with lime for the city walls was taken by two of them. They were on the island of Aegina, where there were many attacks . . . they made great attacks on the *stratioti*’s possessions, trying to destroy them, so that they would not have a way of making a living and would disperse. From the notice of Bortolomeo Minio, *provveditor* of that city, to the ambassador: received here 29 November.²⁰⁶

Magno added an incident not in any *dispaccio*, and Minio might not have wanted to know about it:

The *stratioti* living in that city learned about the attacks made by those *fuste*. Some of them, without the knowledge of the *provveditor*, went after some Turks and attacked them, and many of them were cut to pieces by the Turks. Received here 10 December.²⁰⁷

Minio sent letters to the Venetian *orator* at Constantinople, Antonio Vitturi, and the *bailo*, Batista Gritti, so they could make a demarche to the Sultan. He also sent a series of letters by special messengers north across the Morea to the Captain General at Lepanto, insisting Nauplion be assigned a galley to help with the construction, to chase pirates, and to provide some relief for “the poor of Our Signoria, not only in this place, but also in the other surrounding places and in the Levant.”²⁰⁸ He wrote more letters about his poor *cancellier*.

Then, on the night of 13 December, Antonio Marinato appeared with two companions and a most amazing story: After his capture, he had been put in the care of a Turk of Christian birth who was to take him to Chios and sell him for 4000 *aspri*. By the time they had reached Chios, about two weeks later, Antonio had persuaded the Turk to become a Christian with the promise of fifty ducats which he borrowed from a merchant from Corone apparently traveling on the same ship--Minio blurs over a number of important details--and paid off the Turk who became a Christian. The new convert went to

²⁰⁵ His meaning was that his successor should already have been on the way.

²⁰⁶ Magno 231 for 29 November 1481: “4 fuste . . . vene in golfo de Naupli de Romania et per dò di quelle prese una fusta de quelli da Naupoli carga de calucina per la fabbrica di muri di quella cittade; forono all’isola de Egina, in sopra la qual feno de molti danni, . . . feno de grande danni alle possessione tegnivano Stratiotti, cercando destruser quelle, acciò quelli non possessiono haver el viver et se disperdeseno; de chè Bortolomeo Minio provedador in ditta cittade ne dè notitia al ditto ambassador; questo se have adi 29 Novembrio.” This report appears to be a blend of several incidents, reported individually by Minio in the *dispacci*.

²⁰⁷ Magno 231 for 10 December 1481: “Visto i Stratiotti habitando in ditta cittade i danni fattoli per ditte fuste, alcuni di quelli, senza saputa del ditto provedador, andorono in quel de Turchi, et fesseno de molti dani, molti de quali per Turchi fono taiadi a peci; havesse adi 10 Decembre.”

²⁰⁸ *Dispacci* f 47r and 178-179 for 20 October 1481; f 44v and 179 for 20 October 1481; f 44v and 180 for 13 November 1481: “i poveri de la Nostra Signoria, non solum de questo luocho, cussi etiam de i altri circumvicini et de questo Levante.”

Crete where he was born, and visited his family before coming back to Nauplion where he enlisted as a *corporale* under Marinato. Only here did Minio mention that Marinato had managed to rescue two companions along with himself.

Adventure became stuck in bureaucracy: Minio had no authority to repay the 50 ducats (and probably didn't have the money in the treasury), and there was the matter of Marinato's *fusta*, arms, and possessions gone missing which he had lent for the service of the Signoria, and when he was under orders. Minio made a point that Marinato's *fanti* were calm, self-disciplined, and in good order "in calmo . . . sufficiente et ben in ordine" on his return.

He asked permission from me to come to the feet of VS as a supplicant to request reimbursement from you for the losses and damaged received. But I, because it was not in my competence to give him such permission, and so that I could keep him here with me, because he is valuable, for his consultation on the construction work, and he has to manage his contract and attend to guard duties, so I refused permission. Therefore he is sending the bearer of this letter, his companion and agent, Nicolò Tarsio from Pieve, who leads the *provisionati* formerly under Alvise Pucinello²⁰⁹

There is nothing in the *dispacci* to suggest whether or not Marinato was reimbursed for his losses and expenses, although many surviving *stratioti* documents record repayments for personal property lost in the service of the Signoria. It can be assumed that he received some recompense, although not soon: repayment could take as long as nineteen years.

Fragments of information about the slave business emerge from this account. Marinato was expected to bring 4000 *aspri* at sale at Chios which was controlled by Genoese: apparently slave markets did not discriminate by origin and, according to Minio and Marinato, Turks could sell Venetians in Genoese territory. He was expected to bring a fairly high price; his captors must have thought him as valuable as did Minio and his peers. In the early 1480s, 4000 *aspri* was worth 85-88 ducats. Had Marinato been taken to the Turkish mainland to Bursa, the nearest large city, he would have brought between 25 and 50 ducats, so his offer to the convert was quite realistic.²¹⁰ Minio, ordinarily quick to mention pirate outrages, makes no mention of brutality here, and the slave experience seems to have been fairly casual in this case.

It was not so casual for all the men, though. Of the sixteen men captured with Marinato in October 1481, two arrived back with him and some others apparently escaped. The following October, Minio was still trying to get the remaining men freed. Minio wrote:

²⁰⁹ *Dispacci* f 48r and 185.5-12 for 13 December 1481: "... el rechiedeva da mi licentia de poder vegnir ai piedi dela V.S. a supplicar et domandar suffragio daquella a questo suo infortunio et danno ricevuto. Io veramente se per non esser de mio foro a darge tal licentia como etiam per haver la sua persona dequi apresso demi che val el pretio: et ala fabricha de questo luocho conferisse assai: etiam per governar la sua conducta et attender a la sua guarda: li ho denegato tal licentia. Unde el manda el portator dela presente suo compagno et commesso Nicolò Tarsio da Pieve qual fo il principal de i provisionati olim sotto Alvixe Pucinello." The full letter is found in Appendix 6. It is interesting that Minio claimed it was not within his competence to give Marinato permission to go to Venice. He had done so earlier in the year, when Marinato took a petition for the *fanti*.

²¹⁰ *Quattro mila aspri*: In 1482 1 ducat = 47 *aspri*. Peter Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange* (London, 1986) 290. Between 1481-86, 1 ducat = 45.5 *aspri*. Halil İnalcık. "Servile Labor in the Ottoman Empire," *Studies in Ottoman Social and Economic History* (London, 1985) VII, 43-44. After the 1479 assault on the Ionian Islands, men from the Venetian fleet were selling for 40 *aspri* apiece. Magno 217.33. Piracy will be discussed in Chapter Three.

Enclosed is an annotated list of some men from the area, besides those I sent with Andrea Pulimeri, who has already stayed for a long time at great expense. He has located some slaves, but at the last minute was not able to get them. In another list are the names of some of the soldiers taken with the respected Antonio Marinato, *contestabele*, those who escaped, and some others taken later. I entreat and encourage VS to make provision out for them, and to take action about recovering these slaves. The galleys of Our Signoria are occupied in much more important matters having to do with the assault on Ferrara, and cannot give this area any attention.²¹¹

So it appears that Andrea Pulimeri had been in Venice for ten months, though he does not appear in the *dispacci* for that time, and had managed to track down some of the missing men, but as with so many other interesting issues in the *dispacci*, these threads are left dangling.

What can be seen, however, and this will be illuminated further by the outcome of the Kladas affair, is how wide-meshed was the net of law held over Greece and the islands by the Venetian and Ottoman governors, and how inadequate were any efforts they might make to control this disorder. In this period, most reports of piracy seem to blame Ottoman subjects for rapine and violence, while most reports of banditry on land blame Venetian subjects. As will be seen in the aftermath of the Kladas affair, the definition of “subject” was determined at least as much by the subjects as by the masters, and, similarly, order depended far more on subjects’ cooperation than on Venetian and Ottoman force.

²¹¹ *Dispacci* ff 63v-64r and 205-206 for 15 October 1482: “In questa inclusa sono annotadi i nomi dealcuni homeni de questo luochio ultra quelli per i qual fo mandato de li Andrea Pulimeri il qual ha stentado zatanto tempo con gran spexa et ha trovato alcuni schiavi. Eper in fina hora non li ha possuto haver in unaltra poliza sono i nomi dalguni soldati presi con el spect. Ant. Marinato contestabile: elqual e fuziti et alcuni altri prexi dapoi. Unde prego et exorto la V.S. gli piagi proveder et dar opera circha la recuperation de i ditti schiavi . . . le galie dela nostra Sig. sono occupate in altre cosse di mazor importanti perla impresa de Ferrara et non pono attender a queste parte.”

■ CHAPTER THREE ■

■ Venetian-Ottoman Encounters in the Morea ■

Although the brilliance of the young Mehmed II who directed the capture of Constantinople at the age of twenty-one had become increasingly erratic with age, he continued in his drive to take down one by one the European powers that made up the lands of “Rum,” the Roman Empire and, ultimately, to take Rome.¹ In 1478, he possessed Constantinople, Thrace, half of Asia Minor, most of Greece and the Balkans. He had subdued Venice with the 1463-1478 war, and while fighting Venice, he had in 1473 defeated Uzun Hasan of the White Sheep Turkomen on the eastern borders.² The next power to subdue was the kingdom of Ferrando II of Naples and, given the splits, rivalries, and hostilities across the Italian peninsula, Mehmed expected the Kingdom of Naples to be an easy victory.

In 1478, though, the Ottomans were badly-stretched in terms of manpower and distance. Given the length of time required to assemble troops from farmlands across eastern Europe and Asia Minor, the spring and fall sailing limits on the fleet, and the shortage of sailors for the fleet, fewer than six months a year were available to Mehmed for warfare in the waters west of Greece. It was thus to Ottoman advantage that relationships with the Venetians in the Morea be stabilized.³

The *‘ahd-name* ending the sixteen-year war between Venice and the Ottoman Empire was issued by Mehmed II on 25 January 1478[79].⁴ The Venetian representative was Zuam Dario, a merchant and notary from Crete, now secretary to the Senato, who had been called off a mission to Alexandria to spend more than a year in Constantinople as midwife to the peace process. Dario had been instructed to concede whatever was necessary

¹ Setton, 343, with no citation: “Mehmed is said to have thought of himself as a world conqueror like Alexander or Caesar.”

² Uzun Hasan’s Turkoman empire included what would be Cappadocia, Armenia, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, and western Persia. Shaw, 62, 64-67. Venice had been giving Uzun Hasan encouragement and information against the Ottomans.

³ Setton, 314-345 passim. Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Vol. I: Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280-1808* (Cambridge, 1976) 69-70. Paolo Preto, *Venezia e i Turchi*. Facoltà di Magistero dell’Università di Padova XX (Florence, 1975) 25-33.

⁴ The original *‘ahd-name* is in the Archivio di Stato in Venice, Documenti turchi, b 1/2. Written in Greek on a scroll headed with the *tuğra* of Mehmed II in gold, the *‘ahd-name* was a statement of terms, rather than an agreement as such, and was signed by neither party. The full text of the *‘ahd-name* is printed, heavily edited and with some minor errors of transcription, in Miklosich & Müller III, 295-299, and in Lamprynides, 71-73. Other contemporary transcriptions and translations are found in the ASV Libri Commemorativi, R. 16, ff 126-127, in the *Liber Graecus*, ff 1r-2v, and Documenti turchi b 1/28. I use “Ottoman” in the following discussion for political references, considering it less inflammatory in a Greek context than “Turk” although the *dispacci* and Venetian documents consistently refer to “Turchi” and, when on a classical bent, “Teuceri.” Pierre MacKay, Ph.D., University of Washington, discussed Ottoman usages and transliteration with me.

to achieve a peace and save what he could of Venetian trade interests.⁵ Venice renounced all claims to Argos and Negroponte, Manē, Scutari, and several Aegean islands.⁶ Venice also agreed to pay a general contribution of 100,000 ducats and then 10,000 ducats a year for trading privileges.⁷ All Aegean islands, other than the Sporades (Venice) and Chios (Genoa) would be under Ottoman control. Piracy would be controlled, Venice would have the free use of the sea and the right to a trading colony in Constantinople, while arbiters for both sides would ensure the return of territorial boundaries to their positions under the Despotate.⁸

In February, the Senato wrote the *regimen* of Methone to begin handing over lands so that they could “tranquillius vivere et vicinare.”⁹ In April, the Senato Mar wrote its *rettori*:

As you have learned of the conclusion of the peace, and its conditions, you must learn very well our firm intention and will that it be maintained and not interrupted by any of our *rettori*. We will deprive you immediately of your rule, office, and our benefits for your life. This must always be in your memory and that of your successors.¹⁰

⁵ Feelers towards peace had been extended and tested on both sides for several years, and then notes exchanged by top-level officials, the Sultan's step-mother, and various merchants before Dario was rushed to Constantinople. He was instructed to lay a trail of red herrings between Alexandria and Constantinople, and that his life was forfeit should word of his mission get out. The process of events can be traced through *Secreta* R. 28, particularly ff 12, 42v-43r, 60, 64r-65r, the last with the letters of elaborate travel instruction for Dario, and also in Senato Mar R. 10, f 138r. Venice had used its emissaries to Florence, the Pope, and France in increasingly urgent attempts to get a settlement and had for several years exchanged messages through merchants and administrators in the *stato mar*: Mehmed must have been aware of the rising panic. Disconcertingly, “peace agreement” strictly translated from Greek is “making love,” although the idiom does not have the same meaning in Greek as in English: “εἰς αὐσὴν ἐποίησεν ὁμοίως αὐθέντης ἀγάπην μὲ τοὺς Βενετικούς. *Short Chronicles*, 503, #6 for 25 January 1479: “In 1479 the Sultan similarly made love with the Venetians.” Greek tradition has regarded the peace accords as a betrayal: Τότε οἱ Ἑνετοί. . . ἐγκατέλειψαν τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἰς τὴν τύχην . . . ἐγκαταλείψαντες ἐκθέτους τοὺς Ἕλληνας συμμάχους των-- “Then the Venetians abandoned the Greeks to their fate . . . abandoning their exposed Greek allies,” Nōtas G. Ἐλιopoulos, *Manē* (Athens, 1977) 17. As mentioned in the Introduction, n9, betrayal is explained it by identifying Zuam Dario as a Jew: Ἑβραῖος Κρητικὸς Ἰωάννης Δαρεῖος. *Ellēnismos*, 274.

⁶ Argos was taken in 1463; Negroponte in 1470. The introduction to the recent book of Dario letters confuses Argos with the Argolid, and has Venice surrendering the Argolid. Giovanni Dario (1414?-1493), 22 *Dispacci da Costantinopoli al Doge Giovanni Mocenigo*. Guiseppe Calò, editor and translator (Venice, 1996) 13.

⁷ Although Manē had been conceded much earlier and the agreement was discussed in correspondence for some time, the Senato Mar elected another *provveditor*, Francisco Contarini. Senato Mar R. 11, f 191v for 10 September 1478. Magno 215.7-38. The 100,000 ducats were payment on a debt owed by Venetian lessees of Turkish alum mines. Setton 328. A. Bombaci, “Nuovi firmani greci di Maometto II,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 47(1954) 307, for a November 1479 letter from Mehmed II acknowledging receipt of that year's 10,000 ducats; 315, for a March 1481 letter acknowledging receipt of a 50,000-ducat payment on the 100,000: “οἱ εἰρημένοι ἄρχοντες, ἀποκρισιάριος καὶ μπάϊλος, δοκάτα βενέτικα χιλιάδες πεντήκοντα διὰ μέρος δοκατῶν χιλιαδῶν ἑκατόν . . . ἐδεξάμεθα μετὰ περιχαρίας”: “the abovementioned gentlemen, the ambassador and the *bailo*, [have brought] fifty thousand Venetian ducats of the hundred thousand . . . [which] we have received with much appreciation.” The annual 10,000 contribution was abolished 12 January 1482[83] after Bayezid II came to the throne.

⁸ In addition to the documents cited, Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic*, 236; Shaw, 69; Babinger, *Mehmed*, 368-369.

⁹ Bragadin's 1485 commission instructed: “vui vicinate, e fate vicinar tuti li homini nostri a vui sottoposti, cum li subditi del Signor Turcho quieta pacifica et amichevolmente.” Sathas 303.44-304.1.

¹⁰ *Secreta* R. 28, f 150r for 25 February 1478[79]. Senato Mar R. 11, f 20r for 20 April 1479: “Chome havete Inteso la conclusion de la pace, et le condition de quella chusse dovete intender molto bene la ferma

The *rettori* of Manē, Methone, and Corone were instructed to begin handing over specific lands, and to instruct their people to live with the Turks like neighbors, quietly and amicably.

In mid-August 1479, Ahmed Gedik Paşa¹¹ with two galleys and forty *fuste* seized the Ionian islands and provinces of Sta. Maura, Kefalonia, Zanti, Arta, and Aetolia for Mehmed, on the grounds that Leonardo III Tocco had omitted to pay his 500-ducat a year tribute.¹² This was true enough, but 500 ducats was too trivial an amount for war: the underlying reason was that possession of the islands would provide naval bases for the planned attack on Italy.¹³ This attack interrupted Venetian shipping and delayed Minio's trip to Nauplion (see Introduction). Venice sent galleys to remove her subjects from the islands. Leonardo escaped and left Cefalonia to be stripped and burnt. Ahmed took 10,000 souls, "anemi," from Cefalonia: so many were on the market that the base slave price dropped to 30 *soldi* a piece. In November, Ahmed defeated several ships from the Venetian fleet: the oarsmen brought 40 *soldi* apiece.¹⁴

■ Nauplion Threatened

Minio was understandably edgy about impending relationships with Ottoman authorities. When he arrived at Nauplion in November, he was alarmed to find that Turks from Argos had free access to the city, entering and leaving Nauplion as they pleased, with their weapons and in the company of Albanians. As this could only create an incident, he arranged to have a *contestabele* and *fanti* at the gate who would hold the weapons while they were in the city.¹⁵ In January 1479[80], he learned that he was to expect the arrival of

disposition e volunta nostra che la se mantegni et non interrompi per copa de algune Rectori nostri . . . Et sine priveremo immediate de quello rezimento et de ogni altro rezimento, officio, e beneficio nostro in vostra vita. . . Siche sempre sino in vostra memoria et di vostra sucessori." These two letters demonstrate the different competencies of the Senato, which handled international relations, and the Senato Mar which managed internal affairs for the *stato mar*.

¹¹ Theodoro Spandugino, "Discorso di Teodoro Spandugino Cantacusino de la Origine deli Imperatori Ottomani," Sathas, *Mnēmeia* IX, 169: "uno stafier nomato Ghidich, perchè li mancava uno dente d'avanti, per nome Acmat, cioè Gidiacmat." In Turkish, *gedik* means gap, or breach. According to Spandugino, Ahmed Gedik, a groom in Mehmed's service, once presumed to say in his presence, "He's not so great a prince if he cannot make a small man great, and he speaks to make a great man small." Mehmed was enough amused enough to make Gedik a *paşa* and then a *sancakbeyi* and a captain in the fleet, though later earned undying enmity by giving Gedik's beautiful wife to one of his sons. Gedik Ahmed Paşa was an extremely able leader, having in 1475 taken Caffa in the Crimea and Tana on the Sea of Azov from the Genoese. The previous year, 1478, as *sancakbeyi* he had offered to attack the Pope and the King of Naples as a favor to Venice. Babinger, 390, quotes a description of him: "a man of slight stature, with a brown complexion, a large nose, a sparse beard, of medium height, extremely cruel and niggardly, debased, and corrupt."

¹² The land-grab was neatly summed up in *Short Chronicles* #27 for 17 August 1479: ἐπῆρεν τὴν Ἀγίαν Μαύραν ὁ αὐτός: "He took Ag. Maura."

¹³ Magno 215.7-38.

¹⁴ Magno 217.33. Four *soldi* = 1 ducat, so these slaves were bringing 7-8 ducats apiece, the men 10 ducats. Antonio Marinato was sold for 85-88 ducats. The usual price ranged between 25 and 50 ducats.

¹⁵ *Dispacci* f 1v and 118.7 for 12 November 1481; f 2v and 120.8 for 29 December 1481; ff 5v-6r and 124.24-34 for 29 January 1479[80]. In fact, Minio never reported such an incident, and the only problems he had from Turks on land were from high-level officials, as will be discussed below. In f 15r and 137.11-2 he refers to "el commandamento suo de l'anno passato," referring to his instructions to live in peace and quiet with the Turks.

an Emin who would determine the territorial boundaries.¹⁶ From a reading of the peace treaty, the boundaries could have been expected to be a simple process, but it was complex enough to take a year and a half to settle the first time, and almost another full year for the second settlement. The *dispacci* give an intimate view of details and personalities in four different settlement negotiations for Nauplion, and because Minio wrote with such candor, the *dispacci* show his development as a negotiator, and his ability to make friends and develop confidence.¹⁷

. . . *stagando longamente in disputation con loro, parlando io con ardacia* . . .

On his arrival, Minio found affairs in the Morea quiet as a result of the peace settlement, but he had his first incident by mid-January. Süleyman Bey, “Bassa Eunucho flamburaro”¹⁸ of the Morea, sent a letter demanding on behalf of the Sultan possession of the fiefs of Thermissi (belonging to the bishop), Castri (belonging to *ser* Francesco Alberto), the salt wells, and assorted Greek and Albanian families on Venetian land who had eloped from Ottoman control. Minio sent an armed guard to Thermissi with orders for the people in the countryside to come inside the walls, an order obeyed by the villeins, but not by the Albanians. Süleyman Bey rode day and night (“de di et di nocte”) with two hundred horsemen, badly turned-out (“mal in punto”), from Clarenza; they were spotted by *stratianti* out at night who warned Minio.¹⁹ Süleyman kidnapped six people at Thermissi and eight at Castri, but at one *catuna* they seized 100 Albanians and their herds. Giving him a guard of twelve horsemen and written notes for reference, Minio sent *ser* Francesco de Nassin to Süleyman to protest the raid. Süleyman blandly responded: “*Ser* Francesco, Your Signoria’s ambassador doesn’t know how to explain his deeds, and I have the instruction of my master to do what I have done.”²⁰

¹⁶ *Dispacci* f 3 and 120-121 for 16 January 1479[80]. *Emin* is an honorific for an aide or emissary.

¹⁷ Although Setton, 328, mentions *en passant* Minio’s disputes with various Ottoman officials: I have found no other mention of them elsewhere.

¹⁸ *Dispacci* ff 3v-5r and 121-123 for 29 January 1479[80]; explained again in ff 6r-9r and 124-129 for 10 February 1479[80]. The “Bassa Eunucho flamburaro” was Süleyman Bey, a Bosnian rewarded with a timar in the Morea for his services during the war. J. P. Kinross, *The Ottoman Centuries: The Rise and Fall of the Turkish Empire* (New York, 1977) 134-135. The position of governor was one for which the appointee generally paid dearly (a form of advance tax collection), with the assumption that he would recoup more than his outlay. Most governors were replaced every year or two, the Sultan’s need for cash outweighing the advantages of continuity. In 1527, the Ottoman governor of the Morea (which was the 1479 territory, plus Methone and Corone) could expect to collect 606,000 *akçes*, or about 12,000 ducats annually. As this was only double what Nauplion’s bishops were getting at the same date from the salt works at Thermissi, it may suggest something either about resources in the Morea as a whole, or about the use the Ottomans were getting from them. I. Metin Kunt, *The Sultan’s Servants: The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government, 1550-1650* (New York, 1983) 71-72, 105. Spufford, 490. Minio frequently includes “Eunucho” in Süleyman Bey’s title. Venetians were fascinated, if not horrified, by eunuchs and “tyranny” in general. See Lucette Valensi’s elegant book, *The Birth of the Despot: Venice and the Sublime Porte*. Arthur Denner, translator (Ithaca, NY, 1993).

¹⁹ Castri was hours from Nauplion by horse. William Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea: Being a Description of the Routes of That Peninsula* (London, 1817) 199. Even before the war began in 1463, individual Turks in the Morea had been seizing land. A dispatch of 1462 mentions such happening in Messenia, near Nauplion, and near Lepanto. *Régestes* III #3166 for 22 September 1462.

²⁰ *Dispacci* f 4v and 122.37-39 for 29 January 149[80]: “*Ser* Francesco, l’ambassador dela Vostra Signoria

Minio wrote the Emin, Halil Bey, then at Thebes, protesting the attack. Halil Bey arrived in Argos on 7 February and asked Minio to meet with them to survey the territorial boundaries.²¹ Believing he should not leave the territory without a governor (“essendo solo rector”), wary of Süleyman’s reliability (“poca fede”), and probably extremely anxious, Minio again sent de Nassin to represent him.²² This was an awkward move on his part and may well have hurt him in this round of negotiations. Süleyman Bey, who had come up to within a mile of the border with only a small escort of horsemen as a gesture of his willingness to negotiate, was deeply offended by the *lèse-majesté*, while the Emin simply refused to speak with anyone but Minio.

I decided to go in person, and collected as many *stratioti* as I could find in the countryside, and as many soldiers and Greeks, and took with me the pertinent documents concerning the boundaries and our possession, and the leading and best-informed citizens, with whom I talked first . . . and left instructions about the custody of the city.²³

Minio’s anxiety was on exhibit: besides the troop of at least five hundred men, on horse and on foot, and well turned-out (“ben in ordine”), he also took *miser* Hironimo Lion with whom he had not yet fallen out, the nameless *cancellier*, the leading citizens, and the *turciman* who had been sent out for this,²⁴ while the Emin and Süleyman Bey had only a hundred horsemen.²⁵ Minio made a formal statement, which included a number of references to the peace treaty, his witnesses, and his documents:

saying that these places belonged to the Venetian Signoria which had always held possession of them up to now, and that since 1394 there have been no differences between Your Signoria and the Despots of the Morea . . . of these there is authentic documentation in the Chancery, drawn

non ha saputo dichiarir i fatti sui. E mi ho habudo comandamento del mio signor a far questo che ho fatto.”

²¹ ASV Documenti turchi, b 1/4, and Bombaci, 300-305 for a letter of Mehmed II to Doge Mocenigo introducing Halil Bey and his instructions.

²² Ser Francesco de Nassin may have been acting as one of Nauplion’s councillors. See *Dispacci* f 8v and 128.17-28 19 February 1479[80] for Minio’s discussion of the problem of leaving the territory. He asked for instruction for such situations, as “in la mia comission non fu fatto mention de questo.” The Bragadin commission of 1485 reads: “Concedimus tibi, quod, quotiens opus erit, possis equitare extra pro bono negotiorum nostrorum, ac quiete et securitate subditorum nostrorum, et dormire per duas noctes qualibet vice, dimittendo consiliarios tuos loco tui.” “We give you permission so that, as often as it is useful, you can ride out for the good of our negotiations, and the quiet and security of our subjects, and sleep for two nights on duty each time, leaving two councillors in your place.” Sathas I, 303.21-23.

²³ *Dispacci* f 6v and 125.25-30 for 10 February 1479[80]: “Deliberai de andar in persona et feci reccoltar quanti stratioti se ha possuto trovar in la terra et de quanti soldati et homeni dela terra. Et tolte con me tutte le scripture pertinente ala caxon de i confini et jurisdiction nostre: et dei principali et piu intelligenti cittadini con i qual primamente conferi . . . et lassato debito ordine circha la custodia della terra.” To repeat a footnote from Chapter One: “i piu antiqui et intelligenti” will “désinent chaque fois une catégorie de parèques [villeins] que se distinguent, non pas tant par leur âge que par leur rôle dans la communauté: dans les deux cas ils sont consultés sur les droits et possessions du seigneur . . . et spécifier les terres cultivées ou incultes dépendant de la seigneurie. . . Ces . . . avaient encore certaines autres fonctions dans l’administration du village: mise en possession de stases, enquête en case de litige, etc.” Longnon and Topping, 263.

²⁴ The *turciman* had been in Nauplion since January waiting for this. Minio was providing his food and housing allowance. *Dispacci*, f 3r and 120-121 for 10 January 1479[80]. With the Ottomans, the position of translator was an important one in the civil service hierarchy: translators could sometimes participate in conferences and give advice. Shaw, 118.

²⁵ Minio wrote of other meetings taking place at Castelozzo or Paleocastro, which was ancient Tiryns, about 40 minutes from Nauplion by horse. Gell, 180. Tiryns appears to have been a boundary marker between Ottoman and Venetian territory.

precisely from the original, signed and twice controlled, by the hands of the Despots themselves, with a pendant seal of gilded silver.²⁶

The population of the Argolid, as will be seen again, was in complete agreement on this matter. There had been six years of threatened war between Venice and the Despot between the Venetian purchase of the territory in 1388 and the settlement of 1394. A chronicle of the time recorded the acquisition:

In 1394 the Despot of the Morea came to terms with our ruler and the Despot gave our ruler Argos and Thermissi, and our ruler gave the Despot Megara and the tower of Milopotamos.²⁷

The Emin appears not to have participated much in the subsequent exchange, leaving it to Minio and Süleyman Bey who each insisted on the correctness of his position. While both agreed that boundaries were to be returned to what they had been under the Despots, Süleyman Bey claimed that he had nonetheless been awarded Thermissi and Castri as his timar, that he had already collected the taxes, and that the territorial line was the bridge, beyond which Naupliots were not to go to cut hay and wood.²⁸ There was some suggestion that if the *stratioti* came onto what was now Ottoman land for such purposes, they would be cut to pieces (“li tagliara a pezi”).

Minio repeated everything he had already said about his authorities, documents, and the peace. Halil Bey and Süleyman Bey had documents which showed the territories of Thermissi and Castri listed in the cadaster Mehmed II had made when he took the surrender of the Morea from the Despots.²⁹ Minio persisted in insisting that the Despots who surrendered the Morea had never owned those territories.

They showed a letter from Mehmed with their instructions, this written in Turkish, which they refused to let Minio have so one of his people could make a translation.³⁰ The Emin’s translator repeated the contents of the letter in Latin: the boundaries were to be restored, Süleyman’s timar was affirmed and any negotiations had to begin on that basis.³¹

²⁶ *Dispacci* f 7v and 126.36-44 for 10 February 1479[80]: “Dicendo questi luogi esser dela V. S. La qual ha tegnudo in possesso sempre quelle in fine aldi presente. E che del 1394 essendo nassuda differentia fra la V.S. et li Despoti dela Morea . . . n’esiste scriptura autentica registrata in questa cancelleria tratta del original justo sotto scripto et visdominado de man propria de i Despoti com bolla argenti inaurata pendente.” Venice bought Nauplion and Argos from Marie d’Enghein, the young and widowed owner, in 1388. Before Venetian control was established, Despot Theodore I seized Argos and the Argolid peninsula and the formal return was only effected in 1394. See *Manuel II Paleologus: Funeral Oration on his Brother Theodore*. J. Chrysostomides, introduction, text, translation and notes (Thessalonikē, 1985) 183 n111. Minio may have been referring, though, to more recent documents. Theodoros II Paleologos had tried to seize Thermissi and Castri in 1441. Ploumides, 262 #1 referring to Senato Mar, R. 1, f 62. For 1515 references to the extensive Nauplion archives, Sathas IV, 209.22, 32; 215.30; 217.23-29.

²⁷ *Short Chronicles*, 233 #29 for 27 May 1394: εἰς τὰ ἅτ δ’ ἐσυμφώνησεν ὁ δεσπότης τοῦ Μωρέως μὲ τὴν ἀφεντία μας καὶ ἔδωσεν ὁ δεσπότης τῆς ἀφεντίας μας τὸ Ἄργος καὶ τὸ Θερμῖσι, καὶ ἡ ἀφεντία μας ἔδωσεν τοῦ δεσπότη τοῦ Μέγαρος καὶ τὸν πύργον τοῦ Μυλοπόταμου. It will be noted that the Greek writer of the entry identified with Venetian rule, “our ruler,” rather than with Greek rule and the despots.

²⁸ Though the *capitula* did not specify a precise date, Mehmed II received the last Byzantine surrenders in the Morea in July 1460. An Argolid chronicle recorded: ἐπῆρεν τὸν Μορέαν ὁ αὐτός. “He took the Morea.” *Short Chronicles*, 383 #23 for May 1460.

²⁹ Magno 214.29-215.6 reports this cadaster and the timar, apparently using a letter from Mehmed. This might explain why neither Venice nor Dario protested the loss of these lands at first, thinking it quite possible that they did belong to Mehmed, but Minio who had the original documents from the Despots giving Venice the title insisted on this point relentlessly and with success.

³⁰ This means that some of Minio’s people not only spoke Turkish, but read the Arabic characters.

³¹ *Dispacci* f 7r and 126.12 for 10 February 1479[80].

Minio replied that according to his copy of the letter, the first parts were in agreement, whereas the matter of the timar was not. He appears to have had a copy of the letter from Mehmed to Doge Mocenigo introducing Halil Bey two months earlier which said:

To this we reply we are disposed thus, that it is right that you have again the borders which you had before the war, and for this purpose My Excellency is sending the good, capable and trusted gentleman Halil Bey, Emin, for the territories of the Morea. We have directed him to see and examine first the boundaries of Argos and Nauplion. If the first boundaries are in good order, he will accept and confirm them. If he sees otherwise, he will hear the reasons of the place with justice, he will make a clean boundary for those places. After this he will go to see all the boundaries of the other *castri*. He will confirm the boundaries where they were before the war, according to the original state.³²

Minio was at sea here: neither this letter nor anything he had been supplied made mention of any exceptions or timars and if he had learned about the timars in some other way, he wasn't mentioning it. He brought up the concern of where his people were to cut hay and wood: the Emin's rigid construction was contrary to the attitude expressed in the various writings about the peace treaty.

"We stood a long time arguing with them" ("stagando longamente in disputation con loro"), they refusing to acknowledge his arguments, read his documents, or listen to the testimony of his witnesses, and he equally adamant about theirs, both sides repeating themselves over and over. The paragraphs of this *dispaccio* alternate the account of events with his own intense disappointment. He explained his apparent failure:

Most serene princes, Your Signoria may be sure that I have striven in every way to preserve the honor of Your Signoria, and to maintain your rights, but having to deal with these arrogant people, infidels, totally irrational, I have not been able to come to any good result with them, and suspect that they will take pieces of your other territories.³³

He enclosed his expense account for "about 26 ducats for barley bread, honey, confections, sugar, candles, and other items." Süleyman Bey took whatever he was offered, but Halil Bey "seems to me to be a completely different man in every way."³⁴ Süleyman had spoken to

³² ASV Documenti Turchi, b 1/9 A & B for 23 September 1479, text and translation of a letter of Mehmed to Doge Giovanni Mocenigo. Also copies of the text and contemporary translations in Libri Commemoriali R. 16, f 141, and *Liber Graecus* ff 3-5v; Bombaci #1: καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἀπιλογί θημεν καὶ προνοήθημεν οὗτος, ὅτι δίκαιον ἔνε τα σήνορα ταῖ χετε προ της μάχης πάλε να τα ἔχετε καὶ δια τοῦτο στέλη ἡ αυθ(ειν)τία μου τὸν καλὸν ἐπιτίδιον καὶ πιστῶν ἄρχοντα Ἑαλλῆλ μπεψιν ἐμίνην πρό τον εις τα μέρι του Μωρε(ως). καὶ ορίσαμεν αυτῶν ναῖδὶ καὶ να ξετάξῃ πρότον τα σήνορα του Αργου καὶ του Ναπλήου. ἐὰν τα πρότα σήνορα εἴστατε εις καὸν τρόπων, να τα δεκτῇ καὶ να τα βεβόσι. ἡ δε καὶ ἄλος ναῖδι καὶ να ἀκούσι τα δίκαια τὸν δύο μερὸν καὶ με δικαιοσήνην, να βάλῃ καθαρὸν σήνορον εις τους τόπους ἐκύνους. μετα δε ταῦτα ναῖπάγη καὶ ναῖδι ὅλα τα σήνορα τὸν ἄλον καστρόν. καὶ ὅπου ἦταν τα σήνορα προ τις μάχης να βεβόσου αυτά, κατα τιν πρότην τάξην.

³³ *Dispacci* f 8r and 127.24-27: "S.mo Principo sia certa la V. S. che io me ho afforzado totis utilis di far lhonor dela V. S. et mantegnir le raxon sue. Ma abianda fare cum zente superba infidel senza alcuna raxon non ho possuto vegnir ad alguna bona conclusion con loro et dubito che se fara pezo a i altri vostri luogi."

³⁴ *Dispacci* f 8r and 127.28-31: "cercha ducati 26 fra pan orzo miel confetion et zuchero candelle et altre cosse;" "per me parse un homo defferente de ogni condiction" Sugar, and especialy granulated sugar, "pulverem zuchari," was an expensive, carefully restricted product; buying from or selling to the wrong person brought a fine of 1000 pounds or 5000 ducats. Sathas I, 299.8-21 for 1485. Sugar was long considered a suitable gift for persons of state. In 1519, the bailo of Constantinople met at Nauplion with Zumel Paşa (Cemal Paşa?), *flamburar* of the Morea and gave him "confeti et zucari." Sanudo XXIV. 302 for 1519. These

Minio through his *protogero* or aide, a “persona modesto,” Italian by birth but taken as a child (“preso da piccino”). He seemed friendly toward Venice. Minio reported this exchange:

Protogero: Your Albanian *stratioti* are people of the worst sort. Why don’t you expel them?

Minio: It is true that there are many scoundrels among the Albanians, but all those with us here are men of good quality.

Protogero: If you got rid of the Albanians from your territory, we would have no disagreement.³⁵

The negotiation was finally terminated with a signed statement from Süleyman Bey and Halil Bey promising to make no more moves on the territory for two months, which would allow Minio time to get a reply from the Signoria. Minio sent a *grippo* to Constantinople with a message for the *bailo* who was to make a demarche to the Sultan about the offences.³⁶ Meanwhile, the flamburar rode down to Monemvasia, and then to Corone, as Minio had anticipated, repeating his tactics at both places. More disturbing, Minio also learned that he had forbidden people in the territory around Nauplion to allow any transport or sale of food and grain to Nauplion, by land or by sea. The city was besieged as it had never been before, even during the war.³⁷ Süleyman had laid hold of two-thirds of Nauplion’s land, land already planted by the *stratioti*, and come harvest, there was going to be “great trouble and scandal between the Turks and *stratioti*” (“gran inconveniente et scandalo fra Turchi et Stratioti”). As for the *stratioti*:

The *capi* of the *stratioti* have presented themselves to me, on behalf of their association, explaining that they have served Your Signoria for a long time in the war with complete loyalty, on land and sea, and have spilt their blood in your service, and now the Turks, because of the war they fought for the Signoria, bear them mortal hate.³⁸

If he could not protect them, they would go elsewhere to make a living. He reminded the Signoria of the *stratioti*’s cooperation and how they had ridden out with him to meet the flamburar and Emin even though he was long-overdue in paying them.

There were three Nauplion problems under discussion in Constantinople between the *bailo* and the Porte, at Minio’s request: the territorial boundaries, the *stratioti* lands under cultivation, and attacks by pirates (see below). On 15 April, Minio had a letter from the Bailo in response to his report, as well as a personal response from the Sultan. He forwarded these letters to the Signoria and the *dispaccio* gives no information about their contents. But overriding the importance of the boundary issues was the *bailo*’s information

gifts were at least partially financed by contributions from residents in Nauplion. A summary of a response to a petition, *Régestes*, III #2868 for 26 July 1451 says: “On ne saurait exempter les Naupliotes des petites frais occasionnés par la visite de signeurs grecs, parce que c’est très rare.”

³⁵ *Dispacci* f 8v and 128.3-7. Protogero: “Questi vostri stratioti Albanesi sono zente de pessima conditione. Perchè non li cazate via?” Minio: “Esser vero che fra i Albanesi ut plurimum ne son anche dei cativi: ma tuti quelli che hera con nui hera homeni da bene et de bona conditione.” Protogero: “Se vui cazerete i Albanesi de questa terran non haveremo mai differentia alcuna.” Examples of Minio’s comments about the Albanians were given in the previous chapter but they were his Albanians and no outsider was going to criticize them.

³⁶ *Bailo*: Batista Gritti (1425-1494) q. Homobon q. Triadan, was reelected as *bailo* in April 1479. *Arbori* IV.17.184. Senato Mar R 11, f 20v for 22 April 1479.

³⁷ *Dispacci* ff 9v-10r and 129.42-130.6 for 1 April 1480.

³⁸ *Dispacci* ff 8v-9r and 128.29-33 for 10 February 1479[80]: “I capi de questi stratioti sono comparsi ala mia presentia per nome dela universita de quelli. Exponendo haver servito la V. S. longamente in questa guera con ogni fedelta in terra et in mar et haver sparito il suo sangue in servitii de quella et a hora i Turchi per la guera li fece per nome dela V. S. li porta odio mortal.”

that the Ottoman fleet was preparing to sail west. Minio was on his own where Nauplion's defense and food were concerned: should there be an attack, there would be no help from Venice. In March the Senato had informed the Captain General, Vettore Soranzo, that in the event of an Ottoman attack on the Kingdom of Naples, he and the fleet were to fall back and protect Corfu.³⁹ Territorial issues were left in abeyance while Ottoman troop and fleet movements were watched.

Two weeks later, on 4 May, Minio reported that the flamburar of Negroponte had been ordered to make a call-up of the men in his territory, to be ready to go with the Ottoman fleet at the next new moon.⁴⁰ Part of the fleet was going to Rhodes, captained by a "zovene Grecho," a young Greek, Mesih Paşa.⁴¹ The rest of the fleet was going to Avlona (Valona) to prepare for the attack on Apulia under the *sancakbeyi* or flamburar of Avlona, Ahmed Gedik Paşa.⁴² Five *bombardieri* had gone overland to Avlona after putting the bombards in Negroponte in working order. One *bombardiere* had stayed at Corinth to prepare those bombards and have the two largest dragged down to the port of Kenchreai to wait for a ship.⁴³

On 12 May (this letter could not go out until the 21st), several Naupliotes arrived from Constantinople with another letter from the Bailo about the fleet which said that some three hundred ships ("velle") were gathering at Gallipoli. The Naupliotes had just seen 120 sails leave Constantinople and 20 more were in preparation--with a great deal of ammunition and a very large bombard ("assaissime munition et bombarde grossissime"): these were for Rhodes, while twenty galleys and twenty *parendarie* had been seen at Valona.⁴⁴ Minio assured the Signoria that all at Nauplion were of good heart, vigilant, and prepared.⁴⁵ He also acknowledged a letter from the Signoria--obviously an indirect response to his report of the failed negotiations with the flamburar, reminding him of his instructions the previous year from the Pregadi about "la observation de la pace con el Signor Turco," ordering him to follow the conditions strictly, under penalty of contempt ("sotto le pene de quella contegnude etc").⁴⁶

³⁹ *Dispacci* ff 12r-13r and 133-134 for 17 April 1480. Romanin, IV, 288.

⁴⁰ The new moon was 8 May. However, if the weather had been bad or the moon could not be sighted, the date of sailing might have been slightly different. E-mail communication from Timothy L. Bratton, Ph.D., Jamestown College, ND. Barbarigo had also reported: "quod classis Turchorum exitura erat hac luna." Barbarigo 4.32.

⁴¹ Mesih Paşa is thought to have been a member of the Paleologos family. Setton, 248 and n8. Babinger, 382, "the Paleologus Mesih Pasha." See N. Beldiceanu and I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr. "Un Paléologue inconnu de la région de Serres," *Byzantion* 41 (1971) 5-17. The contemporary chronicler did not record this connection: τὸ αὐτὸ ἔτος ἐπολέμησε ὁ Σελῆμ πασίας τὴν Ῥόδον καὶ δὲν τὴν ἐπῆρε. "That year Selim Paşa attacked Rhodes and did not take it." *Short Chronicles*, 518 #10 for May 23-July 28, 1480. The previous winter, Mesih Paşa had landed cavalry on Rhodes for reconnaissance but was forced out.

⁴² *Dispacci* f 13v-14v and 135-136 for 4 May 1480. Minio's letter may have been one of the earliest warnings received in Venice. The Senato wrote the Captain General, Soranzo, on 2 July that they had received his letters about the two destinations. Setton, 343. Mehmed II sent Doge Mocenigo a letter of introduction for Ahmed Paşa and asking assistance for τὸν σκλάβον μου τὸν Ἀχματμπασίας εἰς δουλωσύνην τῆς αὐθεντίας μου πρὸς τινὰς τόπους παραθαλασσίους; "my slave, Ahmed Paşa, in the service of My Excellency on other shores." Bombaci 312.

⁴³ *Dispacci* f 14r and 135 for 29 April 1480. From Corinth to Cenchrae was about 2 ½ hours by horse, so most of a day by foot. Gell, 207ff. Dragging the cannon would have taken, at a minimum, two days.

⁴⁴ There seem to have been at least 160 ships at the attack on Rhodes. Setton, 348-351.

⁴⁵ *Dispacci* f 15v and 137.35-38 for 21 May 1480.

⁴⁶ The Signoria had written Minio this on 9 April 1480. *Dispacci* f 15r and 137.11 for 21 May 1480. Echoing the letter to the *rettori* cited earlier in this chapter, the Bragadin commission of 1485, states that, for an

Minio had a second letter from the Sultan. In March, Mehmed had written the *προβεδούρα*, the *provveditori*, of Nauplion and Monemvasia a fifteenth-century mail-merge sort of letter to both *provveditori* in general and to neither by name.⁴⁷ In his letter of 21 May, Minio paraphrased Mehmed's letter and enclosed it for the Signoria to read. In the letter, Mehmed almost admitted that Thermissi and Castri were Venetian, but he demanded their destruction: "Nevertheless, it must therefore be, just as is contained in the chapters of our peace accord, that the aforesaid *castri* be returned to My Authority, and if they are not returned, they must be torn down and completely destroyed."⁴⁸ This was to prevent runaways from Ottoman lands from taking refuge, although the *'ahd-name* had already specified that runaways be returned: it was a matter that came up regularly as an Ottoman concern.⁴⁹ Mehmed had no great desire to push the issue of Thermissi and Castri, as in a letter to Venice of 24 April 1480 in which he acknowledged Venetian dissatisfaction with Halil Bey, he confirmed Venetian possession of "Amberto e Fermis" and made no further mention of his demand for their destruction.⁵⁰

He also wrote--Minio never seemed too concerned about the organization of his information⁵¹--that after receiving Mehmed's letter, he sent *ser Zorzi da Londa* to the flamburar to ask that he do nothing more about the territory until the differences were officially settled, and suggesting that the tax, *decima*, he had collected be deposited in a storehouse in Venetian territory until the matter was adjudicated.⁵² *Ser Zorzi* returned to say that he had met up with both Süleyman Bey and the new Venetian ambassador en route to

offense that disrupted the peace: "sive priveremo immediato de quello rezimento e de ogni altro regimento, officio, et beneficio nostro in vita vostra, azoche siate exempio a tuti altri rectori de obedire li nostri comandamenti e cussi e za per auctorita del predicto nostro consegio commesso i nostri avogadori, che esse pene exeguiscono contra i contrafaxanti, e non segli possa far fratia e metter de dar menor pena sotto quella medema pene." ASV Commissioni Provveditori, b 3/52: Commissione à Francesco Bragadin. Also, Sathas I, 304.9-14. "We will deprive you immediately of your position and of every other position, office, and benefice from us for the rest of your life, so that you are an example to all other rettori to obey our instructions. Our attorneys will enforce these penalties against the wrongdoers by the authority of our Council, and they cannot take advantage of their relationship with them and give a lesser penalty other than this same penalty."

⁴⁷ It appears that the Ottomans recognized the continuity of Venetian rule and realized that, regardless of the name of a *rettor* at any particular time, the discussion would be the same. The position of *rettor* of Monemvasia changed before the letter got there. Francesco Cicogna q. Marco was *rettor* in March: Marino Pasqualigo q. Marino was elected in April.

⁴⁸ ASV Atti diplomatici e privati, b 45/1342: Ai rettori di Nauplie. There will have been two originals of this letter, one to each *provveditor*. The Greek text as transcribed from the original, a contemporary translation, and Minio's paraphrase are found in Appendix 3.

⁴⁹ This had already been agreed in the treaty with Mehmed in 1454 after he took Constantinople. Romanin, IV, 271.

⁵⁰ ASV Documenti turchi, b 1/14 with contemporary translation b 1/15. (This letter, according to a note in its place in the *busta* in 1998, says that it was removed in 1990 for restoration.) Also, *Liber Graecus* ff 111-112v. A summary is provided in the note for this document, b 1/14 in I "Documenti Turchi" dell'Archivio di Stati di Venezia. Maria Francesca Tiepolo, editor; Inventario della miscellanea, Maria Pia Pedani Fabris; edizione dei registi, Alessio Bombaci. Pubblicazioni degli Archivio di Stato (Venice, 1994) #14.

⁵¹ Patricia Fortini Brown relates this style of visual narrative, familiar from the Carpaccio panels of St. Ursula and St. Jerome to the inventory style of painted *istoria*, with special reference to Zuam Dario and Sanudo: "The penchant for all-inclusiveness also indicates a lack of hierarchical ordering similar to that which we frequently encounter in the paintings. What was important was that each item should be included, for each item was equally necessary . . . It is the cumulative weight of his observations rather than his description of any single thing which is significant." Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven, 1988) 126, 128.

⁵² *Ser Zorzi da Londa*, who spoke Turkish, owned some of the land at Castri seized by Süleyman Bey. *Decima*, tithe, was the more usual term for the *zamoro* or tax discussed in the last chapter: it was paid in kind.

Constantinople, Nicolò Cocco.⁵³ They must have already had conversations on the matter as Süleyman Bey was quite amenable to putting the *decima* in storage. Cocco stopped at Nauplion for a few hours, long enough for Minio to give him all relevant information about Nauplion boundaries and castles, and left the same evening (“se partite questa notte”).

On 1 June, Minio reported that his spy at Corinth had spotted 60 sail, including 24 galleys, 18 *parendarie*, and *fuste*. Men in the Morea had been drafted drag the bombards from Corinth down to Kenchreai, and load them on the ships bound for Avlona for Mehmed’s great assault on the Kingdom of Naples. Meanwhile, they in Nauplion were still of good heart; they had made a *mostra* with 500 men and had gone through maneuvers out in the countryside where the Turks from Argos could see them. “Learning that the aforesaid fleet was approaching our country,” everyone had volunteered to work on putting up a land wall and reinforcing the others. Minio distributed weapons to the soldiers, citizens, people and *stratioti*.⁵⁴

The Ottoman fleets ignored Greece. One fleet remained in the Mediterranean and attacked the island of Rhodes where there was extensive fighting on land and sea. The fortified city of Rhodes was effectively defended by the Knights of Rhodes, though many Greeks living in the countryside were taken into slavery.⁵⁵ On 28 July, an Ottoman force of at least seventy ships, 15,000 men and 400 horses landed at Otranto. They besieged the city which fell on 11 August and was subjected to horrifying violence.⁵⁶

■ Zuam Dario

Minio had a nearly fatal attack of malaria in July. He had not yet recovered when guests arrived from Constantinople:

⁵³ *Dispacci* f 16r and 138.27 for 21 May 1480. Nicolò Cocco q. Francesco q. Nicolò (born ca. 1399, d. 1483), was elected as orator to Constantinople 3 April 1480. *Secreta* R 29, f 87; *Senato Mar* R 11, f 67v. *Arbori* II.9.360. The previous year, when Benedetto Trevisan was *orator*, his instructions were to stop at each Venetian port on the way out, stay not more than two nights at any port, look into the questions of pre- and post-war boundaries and action by local Ottoman officials, and learn about local issues of import and export. *Secreta* R. 29, ff 18v-20 r for 12 June 1479. Nicolò Cocco’s commission is found in *Secreta* R. 29, ff 90-92 for 17 April 1480. A year and a half later, in November 1481, Cocco and Zuam Dario were still trying to collect their expense money. *Senato Mar* R. 11, f 125r.

⁵⁴ *Dispacci* f 16 and 138-139 for 1 June 1480; f 17 and 139-140 for 14 June 1480: “intendendo che la preditta armata se approssimava a le nostre contrade;” “soldati, cittadini, et popolani, e li Stratioti.” Apparently, the population at large was not supposed to be in possession of arms.

⁵⁵ The Ottoman fleet attacked Rhodes on 23 May, two weeks after the new moon. The siege of the city continued until 18 August. Setton, 344, 350. Finlay, 62.

⁵⁶ Setton, 343-345. Otranto, in Apulia, was part of the Kingdom of Naples. From Avlona to Otranto was the shortest possible distance across the Adriatic, or from the Balkans to Italy. “L’Armata erano galee No. 28, fuste et palandarie 104, in tutto veli 132.” Angiolello 110. “From Venetian sources worthy of credence (e.g. Andrea Navagero) it can be inferred that the Signoria . . . gave the sultan to understand that he would be quite within his rights in seizing Brindisi, Taranto, and Otranto, because as Greek colonies these territories were part of the former Byzantine Empire, which was wholly subject to him as emperor of Constantinople. . . . We definitely know that several Venetians took an active part in the Otranto venture on the Turkish side. Venetian ships transported the Turkish reserves from Durrës to Otranto, and Venetian ships towed the returing Turkish galleys, a service for which the captain general of the sea . . . was more than once severely reproached.” Babinger, *Mehmed*, 390, 395. After the death of Mehmed, Gedik became involved with the struggles for the succession and the Ottoman fleet was withdrawn by Bayezid on 10 July 1481. Setton 70.

On the 12th the Cocco galley (which previously was Salomon's) arrived here, left from Constantinople on the 3rd, which brought His Magnificence Sinan Bey, *protogero* for Greece, sent by the Lord Turk to determine the boundaries for the Signoria's territories, and with him came *ser* Zuam Dario. Sinan Bey told me that *ser* Zuam Dario is a man of high standing with the Lord Turk, and that he [Sinan] is under the *beylerbeyi*, the head of Greece, and over all the flamburars. He appears to be an unassuming man, and well-disposed towards the Signoria's affairs. I welcomed him with honors, and forced myself to honor and embrace him. I am paying for a house for him and his servants, as good as I can, considering the condition of the place.⁵⁷

Minio rented a neighboring house for Zuam Dario and his party. Dario told Minio that he had heard on leaving Constantinople that there was a land battle at Rhodes.⁵⁸ Sinan Bey sent immediately for the flamburar and a *cadi* (*kadi*): work on the boundary lines would

⁵⁷ This is the clearest hint available about the general shabbiness of Nauplion. *Dispacci* f 18v and 141 for 14 August 1480: "adi XI data dequi e zonta la galia Cocha che prima era Salomona, parti da Constantinopoli adi 3 detto. La qual conduce il M.co Sinanbei protogero de la Grecia deputado per il S.or Turco a la partition de i confini ed i luogi de la V. S. et con esso e venuto ser Zuam Dario. Il qual Sinanbei per quanto me ha notificato ser Zuam Dario le homo de gran reputation apresso il S.or Turcho et e sotto El Beilarbei il capo dela Grecia et sopra tutti i flamburari. Ne mostra esser homo modesto et ben disposto ale cosse de la V. S. Io le feci honor bonvenuto et asforzarome de honorar et acarezarlo, et fazoli le spese in una caxa con la sua famiglia meglio me e possiblile secondo le condiction del luocho." Rettori had a modest allowance for this kind of expense. Sathas I, 291.19-23: "concedimus tibi quod possis expendere in anno pro expensis forasteriorum yperperos centum de manibus XX, non intelligendo pro forasteriis illos qui habitabunt in dictis locis." See Bombaci, 316-218 for letter of Mehmed II introducing Sinan Bey. Minio called Zuam Dario *ser*: Dario was a Venetian citizen, but not a patrician. Minio refers to the galley by the names of the officials to whom it had been assigned. Salamon as *provveditor* of the Fleet (Secreta R. 28, f 143) had gone to Constantinople on the peace mission, then Nicolò Cocco as *orator*; Dario left on his mission as soon as Cocco arrived.

⁵⁸ Dario had earlier that year escorted the Ottoman negotiator, Lufti Bey, to Venice, for the Senato's confirmation, before returning to Constantinople. Setton, 339. Miklosich and Müller, 298, Ottoman letter of accreditation for Lufti Bey. Twenty years later, a house in Constantinople was identified as "in quella dove stete sier . . . Zuam Dario." Sanudo II, 598. Aged 65 at the time of this mission, Zuam Dario is unique amidst a crowd of interesting Venetians from the period. He had been a leading notary and successful merchant on Crete, then secretary to the Senato and emissary on a number of trade missions. Until recently, the primary published material available has been the monograph by Franz Babinger, *Johannes Darius (1414-1494), Sachwalter Venedigs in Morgenland, und sein griechischer Umkreis* (Munich, 1961), which does not make use of the information provided by Minio. Babinger's "Veneto-Kretische geistesstrebungen um die mitte des XV. Jahrhunderts," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 57 (1964) 62-77, gives some information on Dario's Cretan background. Patricia Fortini Brown has brought to light other documents, unknown to Babinger. Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting*, especially 64-66, 126-128, 241-242, 248n72-84, identifies Dario as a *Guardian Grande* of the Scuola Grande de San Giovanni Evangelista. As such, and a friend of Gentile Bellini, he is portrayed in Bellini's *Procession in the Piazza San Marco* (far left: a white-haired man in frontal view just behind the white-robed choir; his clothes have appropriate distinctions of rank and possibly Ottoman influence--see detail and Brown's discussion page 66). Brown, in *Venice & Antiquity: The Venetian Sense of the Past* (New Haven, 1996) 89-90, 255, and Pl. 286, writes about him further as a humanist and friend of Cyriacus of Ancona. His will, written in his own hand, makes its first provision for "Chiara mia," his companion. ASV Serie Notai, Testamenti. b 1183/248, and b 1066/71 & 80. He died in October 1493. Giovanni Dolcetti, *Il "Libro d'Argento" dei Cittadini di Venezia e del Veneto* (Venice, 1922-28) 39-40. See also Maria Francesca Tiepolo, "Appunti su Giovanni Dario," *Proceedings of the 4th International Conference of Cretan Studies*, 1971 (Athens, 1981) for which there is unfortunately no bibliography.

begin as soon as they arrived.⁵⁹ Minio had intended to make Sinan a gift of thirty to forty ducats “so that the affairs of Your Signoria succeed well”--the Venetians were nothing if not believers in *realpolitik*. This would have to be billed to the *camera*: the citizens could pay a quarter of it, but they were poor, and to facilitate the peace they had already paid out close to a hundred ducats. Minio discussed the gift with Dario, and they concluded that if they gave Sinan a present, they would have to give presents to the flamburar and cadis as well, or risk offence. However, presents were made, and Minio and Dario both thought later it had been to good effect.⁶⁰

It was three weeks before Minio wrote again. Dario and Sinan Bey arrived on 12 September, the flamburar and the cadis of Karitena and Kalavrita arrived at Argos a week later on the 20th. Minio, Dario, and Sinan Bey rode over to Argos on the 21st and then they spent two days arguing over what they would discuss. At issue were the castles at Thermissi, Castri and Civito and the salt works.⁶¹

Minio’s position was that these had all belonged to Venice since 1394, while Süleyman Bey and Sinan Bey (and the cadis of Karitena, Kalavrita, and Argos followed their lead⁶²) said that Thermissi and Castri were included in Mehmed’s cadaster of the Morea. Minio maintained that Sultan did not know the inclusion was a mistake, and he could prove it. He was prepared to speak indefinitely about his evidence, his witnesses, and the intent of the *‘ahd-name* (although making general mention about returning to the former territorial divisions, it did not name specific properties), and would have, but by the end of the second day, the flamburar “cun grandissima fatica et difficulta” gave in and agreed to hear some of his witnesses.⁶³

The Greek bishop, the Latin priests, and the citizens of Nauplion had selected “i piu antiqui et intelligenti” residents in the territory as witnesses. The bishop took their oath on the Gospels (“sopra i santi Evangelj”), and they made their depositions.⁶⁴ The statements were written down in Greek by Minio’s *cancellier*, and the Pasha’s *scrivan*, who compared their versions “de verbo ad verbo.” At this point, Süleyman Bey, Sinan Bey and the three

⁵⁹ Cadi, *kadı*, a judge in the Ottoman system.

⁶⁰ Secreta R. 29, f 151 for 10 January 1480[81] where Dario says the presents were useful. Dario’s travel expenses included 50 ducats for an interpreter. Brown, *Venetian Narrative Paintings*, 248n79. Dario also wrote the Senato, as is mentioned in the Senato letter to Nicolò Cocco: “Intendesemo dapoi per lettere de Zuam dario el zonzer suo cum Lo Emini a Napoli de romania et qualche principio dato ala examination de quelli confini: Et de hora in hor attendemo de saper tuto quello fara posto in executione cusi li come altrove.” Senato Secreta, R. 29, f 134r for 6 October 1480. Although Minio did not mention it directly, the galley and its *sopracomito* and oarsmen stayed in Nauplion for the duration of the discussions. Crewmen on galleys, *galeotti*, were allowed to transport and sell a certain amount of merchandise. The arrival of a galley, such as this from Constantinople, was an opportunity for a small fair. See Casola, 191, for an example in Methone.

⁶¹ Civito was Kiveri, across the bay: it is now called Myloi, “the mills.”

⁶² Karitena, Kalavrita, and Argos were three of the 23 administrative districts in the Ottoman Morea. N. Beldiceanu, and Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, “Recherches sur la Morée, 1461-1512,” *Südost-Forschungen* 39 (1980) 23. *Karitena*: a mountain town and castle west of Tripolis, one of the twelve baronies of Frankish Morea, and an administrative center under the Byzantines and the Ottomans, is noted today for the architecture surviving from those dispensations, its eleventh- and twelfth-century churches, and Turkish bridge. *Kalavrita*: one of the first baronies assigned in the Frankish conquest of 1205, is a town (and castle) with lush vegetation in a semi-Alpine climate in the mountains on the north-east coast of the Morea. It is noted, apart from its ski resorts, for being the place where the flag of the Greek Revolution was raised on 25 March 1821, and for powerful memorials to the 1436 men and boys massacred by German troops on 13 December 1943.

⁶³ *Dispacci* f 19v and 142.43-143.1 for 5 September 1480..

⁶⁴ For “i piu antiqui et intelligenti,” see Chapter One, page 30.

cadis agreed that the territories had, in fact, belonged to the Signoria.⁶⁵ But because they were now listed in Mehmed's cadaster, the matter would have to be referred back to him for his agreement.

The next matter was the division of the *campagna* between Nauplion and Argos. Producing their documents and their witnesses, Minio and Dario asked for the land to be treated essentially as one territory, since Nauplion had some 20,000 "souls" ("aneme"), and Argos only 200 households.⁶⁶ The Ottoman contingent agreed that Nauplion should have enough land for their needs, but they did not believe Albanians should be included in the population count: they were "men of their own country, foreigners in Nauplion" ("homeni del suo paese, forestieri da Napoli").⁶⁷ After some bickering over evidence, it was agreed that "their elders and ours" ("suo vecchi et i nostri") would swear an oath together and testify about this matter. After the Ottomans heard the Argos elders, and realized that they supported what Minio and the Naupliots were saying, they declined to hear Minio's witnesses, claiming a point of law: "They said that in their law it was not permitted that the witnesses of both sides take the oath."⁶⁸ Minio may have misunderstood the explanation: Zuam Dario's account was slightly different:

We asked for a copy of our testimony to send to Your Magnificence to use for our benefit. It was said that they could not do it because of the law and their practice, as *ser* Manoli, *truciman*, had sent all the information to Your Magnificence.⁶⁹

Both their accounts amounted to the same thing: the Ottomans were discomfited by the fact that their witnesses were giving testimony favorable to the Venetian argument. After more disagreement, it was agreed that elders from both sides would go out and show them where

⁶⁵ *Dispacci* f 19v and 143.2-12 for 5 September 1480.

⁶⁶ Topping, 69, uses a multiplier of 4 for hearths, which in this case would give Argos fewer than 1000 people. Argos is about 8 miles north of Nauplion. The countryside between them and eastward for several miles, is for the most part, flat and fairly arid, watered with wells and seasonal streams. Until eucalyptus trees were introduced from Australia before WW2, the plain was essentially treeless. Eight miles to the east, the foothills begin and the peninsula continues mountainous to the eastern coast. Today, heavily irrigated, the Argolid plain produces primarily citrus fruit, wine grapes, and tomatoes, sold through cooperatives, and some pulpwood.

⁶⁷ Albanians had been invited into the Argos-Nauplion area by Venetian *rettori* in the late 14th century and assigned lands to help build up the population, and thus the tax, base. See Chapter Four, and Jameson et al., 124.

⁶⁸ *Dispacci* f 20r and 143.40-41: "Dicendo che per la sua leze non era licito che i testimoni de tutte do le parte zurasse." What this means is unclear: possibly Minio did not understand. Turkish jurists accepted Christian testimony "in matters of wills, degree of relationship, or if an heir reclaims from an opponent a right accruing to him from a deceased." Speros Vryonis, "Byzantine Legacy and Ottoman Forms," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23-24 (1969-70) 295.

⁶⁹ *Secreta R.* 29 f 151 for 10 January 1480[81]: "Domandasemo la copia de le testimoniazze nostre per mandarle a Vostra Magnificentia per poterle uxar ali favori nostri, ne fo respexo non se poter far per le leze et costume loro, como Ser Manoli truciman de tute cosse informatissimo die haver referito a vostra Magnificentia." The *turciman*, Manoli, is Greek and apparently a citizen in the *stato mar*: the two examples here demonstrate that he was perhaps not expert. Dario, in fact, despite his skill and efforts on behalf of the Signoria, was not reliably supplied with a translator, and may not have needed one for translating as much as for running errands in a Turkish-speaking situation. See the letter of 6 December 1484 from the Sultan's camp at Adrianople: "Siando anche solo senza canzeler et senza turciman da mandar su e zò." Guiseppe Calò, *Ciò: Zibaldone Veneziano* (Venice, 1992) 28. In another letter, he commented that the *Paşa* spoke Greek well and they did not need a translator.

the boundaries should be. The *cancellier* and the *scrivan* wrote everything down and compared their notes.

So they set out to examine the territory. There was, at this point, a small army of men in the August sun: Minio just out of sickbed; overweight, white-haired Zuam Dario; Süleyman Bey, Sinan Bey, the three cadis, staff members, elders and witnesses, *stratioti*, concerned citizens, the bishop and his attendants, the *sopracomito* of the galley and his, riff-raff, camp-followers, and impedimenta--tents, documents, water jugs, supplies, and extra horses--to be transported from one place to the next.⁷⁰ They had ten days of it, on horseback from dawn to dusk, riding the plain and foot-hills, earth bleached pale and vegetation gone to thorn in the relentless heat of late summer.⁷¹

The elders, theirs and ours, began with the "Torre Bianca" on the shore across the bay at Kiveri, crossed "our river" ("la fiumera che è nostra") and went to a place called Aito.⁷² From there they rode toward the mountains as far as "i pozo de La Thura," the wells which the Naupliote elders, citizens, *stratioti*, and documents all agreed belonged to Nauplion. After La Thura, they rode east to the foothills where there was a *catuna* which the Ottomans said were listed in Mehmed's cadaster. There was no one in the *catuna* when they arrived, the Albanians having sensibly disappeared before the advance of the negotiators. The negotiators settled down to bicker over possession of the Albanians.

Minio had documents to demonstrate that these were Nauplion's Albanians: that they had come to Nauplion for safety when Mehmed came into the Morea, and that they had then later returned to the *catuna*. These were farming Albanians: it came out in the discussion that they had been paying the *zamoro* to Nauplion and the *decima* to the Ottomans, for security, and the fact of that payment was taken by the Ottomans as evidence of their allegiance.⁷³ Despite Minio's documents, the Ottomans "persisted in their false opinion and stubbornness."⁷⁴ It was finally decided that the Ottomans would take a portion of the land belonging to the *catuna*, but not enough to do harm.

⁷⁰ Rettori had an allowance for expenses when outside the district and, at least in Methone, could claim the use of mules. Sathas I, 290.12-14: "Cum ibis in servicio domini per districtum Mothoni, habere debeas omni die a comuni grossos XII, et saumerios decem a villanis terre, et si non iveris, et non steteris ad minus usque ad vespas, non debeas ipsos XII grossos recipere vel habere." Overweight Zuam Dario: see portrait mentioned earlier, and his own humor: *mia piccola persona*," Dario, *Dispacci*, #34 for 30 November 1484, written from Bayezid's camp at Adrianople. Dario may have had a chronic illness: "casu quo de illius persona, non benerobusta a sana," written in 1480 between trips to Constantinople. Maria Francesca Tiepolo, "Appunti su Giovanni Dario," *Proceedings of the 4th International Conference of Cretan Studies*, 1971 (Athens, 1981) 505. "oltre de zio leta mia et le connicion del corpo valitudinario rechiede mior luogo de questo: per che me trovasse uno di mie accidenti usati menandria senza alchuna remission: no li siando que ne medego ne medesine ne alchum remedio si corporal como spiritual. et che muor in questi luogi mor como un can." #29a for 16 October 1484. "Et in verità, se seremo per star qua mi non la porò durar e me amalerò et Dio volia che scapula." #22 for 6 December 1484.

⁷¹ A French traveller in 1547 wrote: "For my part I have never seen anything more rough and arid, nor so abounding in thickets and thistles." Quoted in Jameson et al., 128. For a variety of reasons--wells, travellers' reports, vegetation history, and evidence from excavations--there is no reason to assume any particular change in climate and natural vegetation since late antiquity. *Ibid.*, 20-21, 42-44, 123-129, 140-143, 157-165.

⁷² *Dispacci* f 20r and 144.3 for 5 September 1480. The various sites mentioned here and in a subsequent negotiation are discussed in Appendix 7. The boundaries are indicated on Map 2.

⁷³ This means that the Albanians had been paying out 20% of their produce for security. *Dispacci* f 20v and 144.24.

⁷⁴ *Dispacci* f 20v and 144.19-23 for 5 September 1480. "imo perseverando a la sua falsa opinio et pertinatia."

Down on the lower land, the Ottomans and the Naupliots moved into separate camps while “nui” drew a map of the countryside.⁷⁵ Then they rode south, bypassing the road to Nauplion, through an area of scattered low hills and fields--better-watered so some were still green this late in the summer--down to Vivari at the end of the small bay of Drepanon (“sickle”) where the mountains squeeze the coast. Candia lay in a small plain a couple of miles further, and then it was five miles or so to Iria’s triangle of grazing land.⁷⁶ The Ottomans claimed Candia and Iria, along with a monastery called San Theodosio which had a “miracoloso santo.” Minio could not agree to this: Naupliots apparently had a great devotion to San Theodosio, and Iria was the main pasturage and wheat fields for the *stratioti*.⁷⁷ He fanned out his documents again. The Ottomans played a pair of knaves (“do homeni di vilissima condiction”) whose testimony they managed to their advantage. Minio insisted on his documents and witnesses: Süleyman Bey insisted on his. Sinan Bey broke the impasse by saying that although these territories were not mentioned in his commission and he had no authority to make a decision, he would recommend to Mehmed that they be allowed to remain in Venetian control.⁷⁸

Minio, not satisfied that he was winning, persisted in demanding that his witnesses be heard. Süleyman Bey and the cadis refused and rested on the point that the matter of Iria and the *catune* had to go back to Mehmed for a decision. It was moving on towards evening and the mosquitos were violent. They rode off in disagreement. Minio returned to Nauplion with his people, while Zuam Dario rode another hour further to Argos with Sinan Bey.

In the morning, Dario sent over a proposal based on his conversation with Sinan Bey: the territory would extend to the end of the bay of Drepanon and would include the church and monastery of San Theodosio with a connecting road to Thermissi and Castri--and here the Ottoman contingent had finally conceded Thermissi and Castri (“Amberto et fermiss”) something Mehmed had already done in a letter to the Doge on 24 April.⁷⁹ Minio called in the Nauplion citizens, and showed them the proposal. After nine days of this, they all felt under some pressure to achieve a solution. They discussed the proposal and prepared a modification which they sent back to Argos: this accepted the proposal Zuam Dario and Sinan Bey had sent, but specified that the matter of Candia and Iria was to be left open for discussion--thus accepting Süleyman’s proposal of the previous day.

By return messenger--it was perhaps an hour on horseback, each way--Dario said he had shown this proposal to Sinan Bey and Süleyman Bey, and they wanted to send a *cadi* down to Candia and Iria to look the territory over. Six citizens from Nauplion rode down with the *cadi* and his people to look over the grazing lands: it was an all-day trip and they returned with the recommendation that the Nauplion proposal be accepted. The next morning, the Nauplion contingent rode to Argos to the flamburar’s residence, where all formally agreed to accept the territorial limits as defined in the Nauplion proposal. Two copies of the agreement were written out in Greek, one by the *cancellier*, and the other by

⁷⁵ Dispacci f 20v and 144.30 for 5 September 1480.

⁷⁶ For an aerial photograph which makes clear the importance of the Iria fields, see Jameson et al., 119.

⁷⁷ A report from Barbarigo in 1465 explained how essential these fields were to Venetian defense: the *terre* of Methone and Corone, he said, could not support more than 300 horses between them, but because Nauplion could support so many more, he wanted to move the Venetian cavalry there while they were waiting to fight. Barbarigo, 24.

⁷⁸ Dispacci ff 20v-21r and 144.40-145.2-5 for 5 September 1480.

⁷⁹ ASV Documenti turchi, b 1/14. This letter made a little plainer what could be read between the lines of the letter to Minio.

the *scrivan*. The three cadis signed one copy as witnesses on behalf of Sinan Bey and Süleyman Bey: that copy was given to Zuam Dario for Venice. Minio signed the copy made by his *cancellier* on behalf of Venice and gave it to Sinan Bey for the Sultan, but he could not resist offering his witnesses and documents one more time for Sinan's consideration. Sinan assured Minio that he would recommend to the Sultan that Candia and Iria be returned to Nauplion, that they could be considered as such in the interim, and that there would be no further disruption from Süleyman Bey.⁸⁰

At this point in the letter, Minio reminded the Signoria that he was barely out of his sick-bed: "I should have been debilitated, but I didn't feel any fatigue" ("io fosse debole . . . tamen non ho schivado fatica alcuna"). He had used all his ingenuity, concentration, and study to preserve the rights and the honor of the Signoria, and:

Everyone universally, the citizens and people, also the *stratioti*, remain content and satisfied, because they have enough land, pastures, and water; thus for the people on the land, for the *stratioti* and other Albanians, and especially the *stratioti*, have every commodity and the space for sowing, and for pasture for their horses and other animals.⁸¹

Everyone was happy, and everyone had seen Minio standing up for their rights against the Sultan.⁸² Zuam Dario and Sinan Bey left Nauplion and went on to Monemvasia on the galley. The Monemvasia discussions must have gone smoothly, because they were at Corone by 10 September. The Corone discussions began on 13 September and went on until the 20th, and by the time they had finished doing what they could with Methone, it was early October.⁸³

Once they had left Nauplion, Minio wrote or dictated reports for the Signoria, for Nicolò Cocco in Constantinople (sent by ship as far as Candia),⁸⁴ and for the *rettori* in Methone and Corone. Minio gave an interesting picture of Dario's laid-back style of negotiation, and of his own observation.⁸⁵ He wrote, "he was with me in everything, and

⁸⁰ *Dispacci* f 21v and 146.6-9 for 5 September 1480..

⁸¹ *Dispacci* f 22r and 146.17-21: "... et tutti universalmente cuissi cittadini et popolari come stratioti rimase contenti et satisfatti, per modo che lha havuto terreni pascoli et acque a suffitientia. Cussi per i terrieri come per i stratioti et altri Abanesi et precipue i stratioti haverà ogni comodità et largeza de semenar et per pascolo de i suo cavalli et altri animali." Minio's boundaries were in future years regarded as the true boundaries of the territory: "Cum sit nel separar de confini de questa overa cita, non cum li meriti de la rason ne per li confini veri separati a l'altra pace unanimiter cum el Magnifico Miser Bortholamio Minio provededor alhora et Bassa de la Amorea ac Catini, Emini ordinati de la Porta," Sathas IV, 197.17-20, for 1506.

⁸² This evidence of Minio's loyalty to Nauplion in the negotiations may be one of the reasons for the statement of Dorotheos of Monemvasia discussed in Chapter One, page 56-57.

⁸³ Magno 219.39-44; 220.26. They continued on to Navarino (Pylos), Lepanto and Dalmatia.

⁸⁴ In December, Minio had a letter from Cocco (sent by way of Lepanto) saying that as of 5 November his original report on the negotiations (sent by way of Candia) had not arrived. Minio immediately sent a messenger with another report. *Dispacci* f 25r and 147.41-148.7 for 19 December 1480.

⁸⁵ After the boundary issues were settled, Zuam Dario continued working for the Signoria. As a reward for his services, he was given a small Gothic palazzo on the Grand Canal which he had rebuilt in high fashion, possibly by Pietro Lombardo. Ca' Dario, not as wide as a gondola is long, has the inscription URBIS GENIO JOANNES DARIUS on the Grand Canal facade. It was inherited by his daughter, Marietta to whom the Signoria contributed a dowry when she married into the patriciate. In 1487, Dario was made Secretary to the Dieci. He continued to go on missions to the east, Turkey again, Egypt and Persia, and died in May 1494, at the age of 80. His intensely descriptive letters, often intentionally humorous, have never been fully published, but see Giovanni Dario (1414?-1493), 22 *Dispacci da Costantinopoli al Doge Giovanni Mocenigo*. Giuseppe Calò, editor and translator (Venice, 1996). Brown, 65, 242. McAndrew, 215-217. Ca' Dario, described by Henry James as "a house of cards that hold together by a tenure it would be fatal to touch," has, over the last two

had the same opinion and intent,” where what he had actually described for three and a half folios was Dario’s careful detachment from him in the discussions and his friendship with Sinan Bey.⁸⁶

The fact that Sinan Bey had spent a week in Nauplion before the flamburar and cadis arrived was an advantage for Minio:

During his stay here, I gave him honors and treated him well, as well as I could in this place. I enjoyed friendship and domesticity with him, and at the end when I took leave of him, in good form, I was most generous to him.⁸⁷

Minio had also spent a considerable amount of time assuring Sinan Bey of Venetian appreciation and suggesting that Venice owed him great honor. He asked the Signoria, “Please use great courtesy towards him,” and “Send him some gift, as seems equal to his deserts, not only for the work done for this territory, but because he is a man who stands in high regard with the Lord Turk.”⁸⁸ When Zuam Dario wrote Baptiste Gritti his own more concise account in January, he told essentially the same story that Minio did, although he gave more nuances for the Ottoman side. He, too, seemed to think that gifts had played a useful role:

And first, about the Nauplion matters: apart from that contained in the present letters of the most Illustrious Signoria, I remind Your Magnificence that, after the division made of the country of Argos and Nauplion, we through many witnesses have prevailed with Kiveri, Castri and Thermissi with the salt pans and their other jurisdictions, and the fields of Iria, and have requested the determination and confirmation of our possession. On this matter I have again asserted that the letter of the Sultan said that the aforementioned places were ours and would remain so; and that it was official that it be left in our possession. We said that the flamburar was uneasy after the division of the boundaries, and would not make other arrangements. Then, the Emin was satisfied by all our gifts and ordered the flamburar and the neighboring timar-holders to desist from all claims and past unrest, and that we were to be left in quiet to possess the aforesaid places as our own.⁸⁹

centuries, has been endowed with an unsettled history, although in the 1840s it was the residence of the archival scholar Rawdon Brown to whom must be given the credit of discovering these *dispacci* of Bartolomeo Minio. The neighbors speak confidently of suicides, scandal, and a general aura of bad luck. As of this writing, Ca’ Dario is for sale.

⁸⁶ *Dispacci* f 22r and 146.24 for 5 September 1480: “al qual insieme con me in tutte cosse et sta de una opinion et volonta.”

⁸⁷ *Dispacci* f 22r and 146.30-33 for 5 September 1480: “Veramente ne li giorni el stete de qui havendolo honorado et carezado quanto sta me possibile secondo la condiction de lo luogo, et preso amicitia et domesticheza con lui. A l’ultimo quando tolse combiato dalui, con bel modo me ho largado con esso.”

⁸⁸ *Dispacci* f 22v and 147.1-4 for 5 September 1480: “gli piage usar bona cortesia verso de lui,” and “mandarli qualche presente, como a quella parera che re vera el merita non solum per la opera fatta a questa terra. Ma . . . per esser homo degno de gran riputation appresso del S.or Turcho.”

⁸⁹ Secreta R. 29 f 151 for 10 January 1480[81]: “Et primum ale cosse da Napoli, oltra quello se contien ne le presente lettere de la Ill.me S.ia, arecordo a Vostra Magnificentia dapoì la da Cimeri Castri et Thermissi cum le saline et altre jurisdiction soe, et de la campagna de Iris, et rechedesemo termenation et declaration del possesso nostro: Et a questa parte ne so resposto: che la lettera del Sig.or dicena che se li luogi predicti erano nostri que rimagnisse: et che fo officio era de lassarge al nostro possesso et nostra far altra declaratione: et digando nui chel flamburano que inquietia dapoì la partida delimini, se non se feva altra provision: alhora l’emini a satisfaction nostra presentibus omnibus commando al flamburar et a quelli timarati vicini che desettesse da ogni tentamento et inquietatio passata: et che ne lassase quietamenta possieder li luogi predicti

Stefano Magno recorded the visit, paraphrasing Minio's letter of 5 September so closely that it is clear he had it or the official copy in hand. Magno has at least one mistake:

Note: The castle of Damala remains in the hold of Nauplion, which Bort. Minio did not want to give up. I believe the question remains as to whether Damala remains in our possession.⁹⁰

Before the war, Damala, on the eastern coast of the Argolid, had been held by a Joannis Spagnoli, along with Ligurion and Fanari as a fief under Athens. With the dissolution of the Morea and the increasing Ottoman presence, Spagnoli gave these towns with their *castri* to Venice which administered them as part of the *terra* of Nauplion.⁹¹ Thus Damala had not been in Nauplion possession at the time of the Despots and never appears in Minio's accounts of the discussions, in Zuam Dario's reports, in letters from the Sultan, or in the Senato Mar records. Damala was surrendered during the war by Christoforo de Priuli, along with Astros and other places; Minio acknowledged the fact early on in a mention of families from Damala who had moved over into Venetian territory.⁹²

The Senato wrote Cocco, relayed Dario's report, and gave their relieved view of the negotiations. They were obviously not concerned about claiming their rightful possession of the *stratioti* lands:

About this that pertains to Nauplion, Monemvasia, and Corone there remains no other question, and anything that does remain is very small! But all the greater part has been defined and determined with equity and content on one side and the other. Actually, at Methone and at Nauplion, according to the said Zuam, we have been in confusion, and each thing was decided and defined after there had been a long controversy between one side and the other. No other discussion is necessary about this.⁹³

In a letter to Dario the same day, they said:

Zuane. About Nauplion and Corone, we have learned all that has been done in the matter of all our borders, and are pleased that it all is well-performed and completed by your trustworthy ingenuity and usual prudence and

come cosse nostra."

⁹⁰ Magno 219.36-38: "Nota. Rimaxe etiam el castel di Damala inel tegnir di Napoli, el qual Bort. Minio non volve render; ma credo remaxe per suspeso de questo luogo di Damala stera fo poseso per nostra."

⁹¹ Sathas I, #153 for 12 November 1456. Secreta R. 20, f 105.

⁹² *Dispacci* f 3v and 121.19 for 29 January 1479[80]: "et molte fameglie del damalla et Fanaro reducte a I ditti castelli"--"many families from Damala and Fanari came to the said *castelli*." Magno 216.17-20. Damala (and Fanari) on the eastern coast of the Argolid south of Epidaurus was a fief of the Franks and then of the Regimen of Nauplion. Astros is a castle across the bay of Argos to the south. Damala was given to Venice along with some other fortifications during the Moreote wrangling of the 1450s and taken by the Ottomans late in the war. When the peace treaty specified a return to the borders at the time of the Despots, the intent as regards Nauplion appears to be the borders as of 1453.

⁹³ Secreta, R. 29, f 139 for 4 November 1480 to Nicolò Cocco: "Et que questo pertengi a Napoli, Mavuasias et Coron non glie rimasta alguna dubitatione e se pur e rimasta e de cossa molto pichola! Ma tuto o la maxima part e cum equita et contento de luna delaltra parte diffinito et terminato. A Modon veramente e a Napoli perquato dal dicto Zuane semo stati mixati, e terminato et diffinito tuto quello in che dapoi longe controversie luna et laltra parte sono convenute: Et in questo non e necessaria altra dissertation." There was further discussion as on 30 April 1481, Mehmed wrote Venice again: περίχωρα τοῦ εἰρημένου ναυπλοίου ἡγουν θερμισίου καὶ καστρίου καὶ τζίβερίου καὶ αἱ ἀλικάι αὐτῶν εἰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ναυπλοίου ἦσαν μεινάτωσαν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν τάξιν: "the area of the aforementioned Nauplion, that is Thermissi and Castri and Kiveri and other places which were formerly theirs would remain under the former order." In this letter, Mehmed, or the secretary, finally managed to get Castri/καστρίου right, instead of "Ambertocastro" and the other variants they had been using. ASV Documenti turchi, b 1/21; also Miklosich & Müller III, 304.

diligence . . . and about Nauplion where there was another small matter remaining to discuss, adequate information has been given to the ambassador for him to use for the matter and so he will be able to learn everything and do what he can for all the fundamental issues.⁹⁴

There were differences, but not enough for anyone to get upset about. Venice believed it was in no position to insist if Mehmed chose to be rigid. As Magno recorded:

Meanwhile, there has been notice from Zuam Dario, secretary, who has been to settle the boundaries of the places where they were not in accord, that it has been discontinued, the Prince and Signoria desiring that the peace not be interrupted.⁹⁵

Zuam Dario arrived back in Venice in mid-December and reported to the Senato “orally, with clear and specific information” (“a bocha distincta et particular information”). Two more letters to Nicolò Cocco in Constantinople that December further summarized the settlements:

Our mind, and our purpose in every detail in the matter is this: first, about the border at Nauplion, Monemvasia, and Corone: we are content with what was done by our Regimen at these places, and by Zuam [Dario] on our behalf [and] the Emin and flamburaro on behalf of the Lord Turk. Letters confirmatory about the division made between Argos and Nauplion refer to the documents made and signed by both parties, which letters specifically mention our possessions of Kiveri, Castri, and Thermissi, with their lands and jurisdictions, with the saltworks, and the valley of Iria, and with all particulars, as the *provveditor* of Nauplion has written, and Zuam had stated, as you will be well-informed by the included documents.⁹⁶

The peace accords, then, were finally in effect in Nauplion, two years after they were first announced. This might have been expected to be the end of the matter, but within six months it all had to be done again.

⁹⁴ Secreta, R. 29, f 139v-140r for 4 November 1480 to Zuam Dario: “Zuane. da Napoli, da Corone . . . havemo intexo tuto quello li e stato operato in la materia de tuti li nostri confini . . . et tuto ne piace come ben operato et facto cum la tua ingenita fede et consueta prudentia et diligentia . . . Et se anche a Napoli o altrove fosse alcuna cosseta rimasta indiscussa dare anche avixo al dicto ambassador sufficientemente per utile dele cosse nostre et per che loappari intender ben tuto, et parlar possi in ogni perte fundamente.”

⁹⁵ Magno 224.10-12: “Interim habudo notitia per Zuam Dario secretario che era sta à partir i confini di luoghi non erano sta d’accordo, che era sta suspesi, desiderando el Prencipe et Signoria la paze non fosse interotta.”

⁹⁶ Senato Secreta, R. 29, f 149v, #2 for 29 December 1480: “La mente adonque et intention nostra in ogni particularita de la materia e questa et primo: Quanto partien a Napoli, Malvasia et Coron, nui se contentemo de quallo e fato fra i nostri rezimenti etiam de quelli luogi et Zuane predicto per la parte nostra, lo Emini e Flambularo per la parte de S.or Turco, pur vi reconderemo queste poche cosse che vui impetrate dal S.or Turco lettere confermatore de la division facta de la campagna de Argos e Napoli referendosse alla scriptura facta et sottoscrita per tute do le parte, in lequal letere specificatamente se faci mentione de possesso nostro de Cimeri, Castri et Tramissi cum i territorii, et iurisdiction sue cum le saline, et la valle de Yris, et cum ogni particularita che ve ha scripto el provededor da Napoli, et da Zuane seti stato e anche saretì per linclusa scriptura soa informatissimo.” Also R. 29, f 147v-148r for 21 December. When Minio wrote Cocco, he told the Signoria he had sent the letter by way of Candia, and that he had written “ad maiorem cautella,” with great circumspection, which suggests that there may have been some uncertainty as to the privacy of diplomatic correspondence. *Dispacci* f 30v and 158.26. Magno, 224, reports this letter. It will be noticed that here, as in every other reference by the Senato or Senato Mar to Minio or to any *rettor*, the title is used: never the personal name.

■ Resistance, Rebellion, and Death

. . . *per mie lettere scripsi et notificai al Bassa flamburar et i subassi* . . .

The next months appears to have passed by quietly: there are no *dispacci* from mid-September to December 1480, and that was when the *provveditor* of the Fleet revised the *condotte* and thereby infuriated the *stratioti*. On 12 December, Theodoro Bua, *capo di capi* at Nauplion, led thirty men on horse and about that many on foot in an independent declaration of war on the Ottomans, initiated by a raid on Argos. They swooped down on a group of janissaries working in the countryside, killed three, and then rode south to join Kladas and his uprising which was now two months old.⁹⁷

Minio was expecting a new flamburar, Ahmed Paşa, in the Morea, who was bringing a troop of janissaries and an army with the intention of wiping out the Kladaïoti. On 12 February, Minio wrote that Ahmed had arrived in Corinth with two hundred horsemen, and was waiting for another 2000 horse and foot.⁹⁸ Ahmed reached Argos on the 14th and immediately sent his voivode with an escort of fifteen horse to give Minio a message to calm his anxieties: “He said that he wanted to regard me as his brother, and to live and be neighbors in friendship and affection.”⁹⁹

Minio “replied to him with warmth and friendship, saying vice versa that I wanted to live as a neighbor with this flamburar with the best of relationships.” The voivode accepted this statement in good part and Minio presented him and his company with six arms of blue cloth for a robe (“panno celestino braza 6 per una casacha”).¹⁰⁰ Then the voivode presented Minio with a gift from the flamburar, “uno fazuol in forma de zentura turchescha de seda,” an embroidered silk sash.¹⁰¹ There were other exchanges of courtesies, and then Minio sent *ser* Francesco de Nassin with the voivode to pay a call on the flamburar. *Ser* Francesco was an interesting choice as sending him was how Minio had offended the previous flamburar and Halil Bey the previous May.¹⁰² On the other hand, *ser* Francesco could stand in relation to Minio as the voivode did to the flamburar, and it was a

⁹⁷ Janissaries “served in rotation as guards of the main gates of cities, towns, forts, and police stations around the empire and as provincial city police, normally for terms of nine months before returning to the Istanbul barracks.” Shaw, 123. The Kladas affair, with the supporting Bua revolt, is the subject of Chapter Four.

⁹⁸ *Dispacci* f 28r and 154.31-34 for 12 February 1480[81]. Magno 223.24 supplies his name and says that Mehmed had sent for Süleyman Bey to ride on campaign with him to Syria.

⁹⁹ *Dispacci* f 28v and 154.44-155.1 for 14 February 1480[81]: ““dicendo esser disposto de haverme per bon fradello et viver et vicinar con mi et con questa terra amichevol et caritativamente.” Magno 223 paraphrases this letter.

¹⁰⁰ *Dispacci* f 28v and 155.3-9 for 14 February 1480[81]: “cum dolce et caritative parole, offerendome versa vice de voler viver et vicinar con esso flamburar in optima benevolentia.”

¹⁰¹ The embroidered sash was an important gift symbolizing the close ties between the parties. Mehmed II had sent one, among other gifts, to Doge Mocenigo at the conclusion of the peace. Babinger, *Mehmed*, 371.

¹⁰² Only *ser* Francesco de Nassin and Zorzi da Londa are described as having quite such authority, although--as mentioned in Chapter One--several individuals take messages. In the Bragadin commission, it is assumed that the *rettor* will have two councillors who participate in decisions, and if the *rettor* leaves the territory, at least one of the councillors has to remain on duty in the territory. Minio mentions something like this in *Dispacci* 125.30: “et lassato debito ordine circha la custodia della terra.” If Minio does have two councillors, Francesco de Nassin and Zorzi da Londa--landholders and citizens--are the most likely candidates. See Sathas I, 284.19; 285.32 for examples of councillors’ duties.

simple exchange of visits by officials of the same rank. At any rate, the flamburar received *ser* Francesco warmly, and they made each other many more assurances of warm good will, tranquil relationships, and brotherhood. Minio had sent another set of gifts: fresh fish and various foods, and Miser Ieronimo Lion paid for three silver cups, containing about 25 ounces of silver (which he bought from a Miser Andrea).¹⁰³ The flamburar had to go on to Manē to deal with the Kladas affair, but he wanted to visit Minio personally when he came back. The voivode presented a letter “scripto in latin” to the Signoria from Mehmed about the matter, which Minio enclosed in the *dispaccio*.¹⁰⁴

There were further exchanges of letters with Venice about keeping peace with the Ottomans.¹⁰⁵ Then, abruptly, all successes were irrelevant. Mehmed was found dead. Minio learned about it at 11 o’clock in the morning of 24 May, from Ser Rinaldo Mezola who left Thebes on the 20th “in grandissima fretta.” Mezola had heard it in secret from the older of the two sons of the *cadi* of Thebes who left Constantinople on the 11th. Minio’s account of events is accurate enough, allowing for some misunderstandings of identity and sequence of events:

The Lord Turk died this way: he was traveling in Anatolia with his cavalry, on the way to Syria, in various reports, about 20 days out from Constantinople. Being sick and not having show himself to his people for three days, according to custom, they suspected he was dead. The janissaries asked the Paşa to show them the Sultan. He raised and showed them his arm, and made it wave a time or two. But finally his death was discovered. The janissaries took up arms and beheaded Mehmed Paşa, the *paşa* commanding the cavalry, and simultaneously killed the other leaders in the camp, and sacked the *chasna* (OT *hazine*), that is, the Sultan’s treasury, and the janissaries brought the body of the Sultan back to Constantinople.¹⁰⁶

This is an interesting glimpse of relationships in Venetian diplomacy: the two sons of the *cadi* of Thebes had been visiting in Constantinople with Battista Gritti, the Venetian *bailo*, and he had told them much of what they knew:

The rest of the janissaries, about 1000 who stayed in Constantinople, took up arms in company with the other janissaries and sacked the Sultan’s *chasna* at Constantinople, and massacred the leading Turks who were in

¹⁰³ *Dispacci* f 28v and 155.15-17 for 19 February 1480[81]. These silver cups would be just about the size of mint julep cups, thus holding about eight ounces of wine or whatever it was the Ottomans were drinking.

¹⁰⁴ *Dispacci* f 29r and 155.37 for 19 February 1480[81].

¹⁰⁵ *Dispacci* f 30r and 158.32-33 for 4 March 1481; letter from the Doge, Giovanni Mocenigo, mentioned f 31v and 160.12-16 for 14 March 1481.

¹⁰⁶ *Dispacci* f 34r and 163.36-164.1 for 24 May 1481: “El S.r Turcho esser morto in questo modo: che essendo passato ala Natolia con lo suo exercito per andar verso la Suria per quanto seria divulgato: aluntanado da Constantinopoli zornade vinti, essendo amalado et non se mostrando ale suo zente ogni tre di secondo usanza, le suo zente hebe suspecto esser morte. Unde i gianizari rechiedando el Bassa li dovesse mostrar el suo S.r , fece alzar et mostrar el brazo di quello. E questo fece una o do volte, pur al’ultimo descoberta la sua morte. Ii Gianizari se levo in arme et taglio la testa a Mechemet Bassa, principal bassa de quello exercito, et simelmente amazorono i altri principali del campo et messeno a sach el Chasna, i e lo erario del S., et tornati i gianizari con il corpo del S. a Constantinopoli.” The Paşa was the grand vizier, Karamani Mehmed who tried to conceal the Sultan’s death long enough to get the Sultan’s younger, favorite son, Cem Sultan, to Constantinople; Mehmed was killed in Constantinople, rather than on the road. There was great political rivalry between the party of the janissaries and professional military, between the men of no particular family, and those of the traditional aristocracy.

Constantinople, except for the Ağa, that is, the commander of the janissaries. They massacred Jews, Christians, and Franks they found in their way, and took some for slaves, and sacked their possessions. All the *galeotti* they found ashore, they took for slaves, and massacred others, and the galleys were left undefended.¹⁰⁷

Gritti may not have told them everything: the massacre was a near-run thing. He and Nicolò Cocco “saved themselves and also two of the great trading galleys in the port by giving the janissaries money.”¹⁰⁸ The ambassador also passed on information about an issue that was to come up again for Minio later, in a most interesting way:

The ambassador said nothing else about that. He also said that the Ağa of the janissaries who is the father-in-law of the Sultan’s older son, who was in Anatolia, tried to make him Sultan, and the janissaries immediately chose the other, younger, son of the Sultan, etc.¹⁰⁹

Officials of rival cities shared information, officials who had much more in common as officials trying to maintain calm than did their governments as competitors. Two Genoese officials on Chios wrote what they had learned:

Since then, I have had, by a *grippo* from this territory come from Chios, letters from *miser* Zuan Antonio Giustiniani, Mahonese, and from the consul of Chios, of 26 and 28 May, which confirm the Sultan’s death. Also, that of the 28th says the older, firstborn son of the Sultan came back from Anatolia to Constantinople, and took control peacefully, and without obstacle. He immediately sent to all his country exemption from all the new *angarias* imposed by his father, wanting things to be as they were before. The great galleys of the Signoria have been standing at the Columns [Cape Sounion] with all the merchandise, waiting to learn if things were peaceful so they can sail.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ *Dispacci* f 34r and 164.1-10: “Lo resto de i gianizari, circha mille che hera romasti in Constantinopoli, se levo in arme de compagnia con i altri ianizari et messeno a sachò il chasna del S. che era in Costantinopoli et tagliono a pezzi tutti i principal Turchi che era in Costantinopoli, excepto lo aga, i e capo dei gianizari, tagliati a pezi Judi, Cristiani et Franchi trovanti avanti de loro, et parte fatti schiavi, et messo a sachò il suo. Iteerum disse el ditto fiolo del caddi haver bisto in Constatinopoli menar ligado il Baylo: E tutti I galeot trovadi in terra prexi et facti schiavi e parte tagliati a pezzi, et e galie romaste desarmate.”

¹⁰⁸ Angiolo 118: “con denari dati ad alcuni Giannizzeri si salvarono, et etiam due galee grosse al viaggio di Romania in porto.”

¹⁰⁹ *Dispacci* f 34r and 164.10-13: “Di l’ambassator non sa dir altro; dice pretearea che lo aga de i gianizeri, qual e zenero del fiolo major del S., chel se atrova a la Natolia, tratta de far S. detto suo suocero, et i gianizari vuol piu tosto laltro fiol minor del S., etc.” Minio switches the sons here: the older son was Bayezid who did become Sultan: the younger son, Cem, was involved in numerous plots for the throne. The Ağa of the janissaries, the father-in-law, was İshak. For Cem’s story, see nn135-136 below.

¹¹⁰ This is one of the rare times when Minio gives a picture. *Dispacci* f 36r and 166.17-26 for 9 June 1481: “Dapoi heri per uno grippo de questo luochò venuto da Sio hebi lettera da misser Zuan Antonio Zustignan Mahonese, et del consulo de Sio de 26 et 28 del passato, per le qual se confirmata la morte de esso S.or, insuper che adi 28 dete vene el fiol major primogeneto del S. T. morto da la Natolia, et passo a Constantinopoli et intro ina Signoria pacifice sive ullo obstando et imediate mando per tutto il suo paese exemtio a tutte dele engari imposte de novo per suo padre. Et vuol che tutti siano a la condiction prima. Le galie grosse de la V. S. era state ale Colone con tutti i merchandanti et aspettavano che le cosse se pacificasse per poter partire.” Other cities trading in the Levant had consuls in Chios, although usually Genoese: one Genoese might act as consul for more than one city. Argenti, 498n9.

With the whole eastern Mediterranean and Italy waiting to learn what would happen, it is a disappointment to find how little attention is given this in the *Short Chronicles*: “Sultan Mehmed died,” “Next, he died May 4.”¹¹¹

Minio had been corresponding with Ahmed Bey, the new *flamburar* whom he had not yet met, assuring him that he “wanted to live as neighbors in peace and quiet” (“voler vicinar pacifice et quiete”).¹¹² Ahmed Bey gave him the same assurances, and asked him to inform the Signoria that the new Sultan, Bayezid II, had already directed that no insults be given the Signoria and its lands, and that Nauplion’s people should feel safe in going outside the territorial lines for their harvest. Ahmed would come to visit Minio. The continuing attacks by the Kladaioti would have no effect on the friendship between the two governments.¹¹³ The Signoria was pleased enough to compliment Minio, making up for their letter of the previous summer that hinted at disciplinary action:

In recent days I have reverently received kind letters from Your Excellency in which Your Excellency graciously and kindly praises and commends me for having managed with warmth and friendship with the *flamburar* of the province and with his *subaşı* and *rettori*, especially since the death of the Sultan.¹¹⁴

Ahmed Bey went to Constantinople, presumably to discuss how to handle the Kladas affair, and left a voivode to govern in his absence. Although Kladas had escaped the country, Bua was in prison, and part of the groups had disbanded, various other bands, all referred to as Kladaioti were still a danger in the Morea, attacking and robbing Turks, and getting food and shelter from *catune* in Ottoman territory. In his absence, a prominent *subaşı* in the Morea, Sinan Bey, had taken 150 horsemen to raid one of these *catune* where Kladaioti were sheltering. He and a number of his company were captured and subsequently dismembered.

Minio was afraid that men from the *catuna* would come to Nauplion territory for safety, and gave orders that they not be given food and shelter. Even without this new incident, the Morea was generally in an uproar and Nauplion was once again under siege. Turks couldn’t come to Nauplion to trade for fear of bandits, and Naupliots couldn’t fish or trade elsewhere for fear of pirates. The Ottoman response was frustrating where the Kladaioti were concerned. Not only were *catune* providing aid, comfort, and tribute in Ottoman territory, but Ahmed Bey came back to Corinth with six hundred horsemen from Constantinople. He was planning to ride through “this *terra* and its land” (“questa terra et suo territorio”) to avenge the Kladaioti damage, and he wanted to visit Minio. Ahmed wrote Minio with great warmth, but Minio, just in case, called for families and animals in the territory to come inside the fortresses, and sent out spies.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ *Short Chronicles* 518, #10 for 3 May 1481: ἀπέθανεν ὁ σουλτὰν Μεμέτης.

¹¹² *Dispacci* f 36r and 166.21. This was a basic instruction to new *rettori*: “vui vicinate, et fate vicinar tuti li homeni nostri a vui sottoposti, cum li subditi del Signor Turchi quieta pacifica et amichevolmente.” Sathas I, 303.44-304.2: “You will live as neighbors, and make everyone subject to you live peacefully and amicably as neighbors with the subjects of the Sultan.”

¹¹³ *Dispacci* ff 36r-37v and 166.30-40, 168.38 for 16 June 1481.

¹¹⁴ *Dispacci* f 42r and 176.20-35 for 3 October 1481: “Proximis diebus reverenter recevi lettere benigne de la V. Ex., per la qual essa Vostra El. per gratia et benignita sua me lauda et comanda de quanto me ho adoperato dolce et humanamente con el flamburar de questa provintia et cum i subassi et rectori suo, maxime dopo la morte del suo S.r.”

¹¹⁵ *Dispacci* f 50r and 187.36-44 for 17 January 1481.

Minio sent *ser Zorzi da Londa* to welcome Ahmed to the Morea and to Nauplion. Da Londa met him on the road between Corinth and Argos and arranged a formal meeting for Minio. On 23 January, Minio rode to Castellazo (ancient Tiryns) with 500 horsemen, and 200 foot which included the Italians and Greeks (“*questi de la terre*”). The flamburar had 300 uniformed cavalry. They took up positions, standing on each side of the boundary line with their delegations. Ahmed Bey had the voivode and five other principals with him; *sopracomito* Bernardo Diedo was a member of Minio’s party.¹¹⁶

Nothing was said about the peace treaty or territorial boundaries. The conversation that followed had to do with a resolution of the Kladas affair. Ahmed took the initiative in working out a complete pardon for the participants from both the Ottomans and the Signoria. That conversation and pardon will be discussed in detail in the following chapter, but here attention should be called to the relative freedom with which both Ahmed and Minio were able to act.

■ Re-Negotiations under Bayezid II

Under Ottoman law, all acts of a Sultan were in effect only during his lifetime, and had to be affirmed by his successor in order to remain in effect. Despite the interminable territorial discussions at each colony already held under Mehmed, the peace had to be settled again. Bayezid called off the attacks at Rhodes and Apulia.¹¹⁷ He sent a conciliatory letter to Doge Mocenigo (with a gold, blue and green *tuğra*) accepting in principal the boundary lines previously specified and agreed-on, and a restatement of the peace agreement. About the territorial questions still waiting settlement--which, as Venice had written Cocco, could be ignored if necessary--Bayezid wrote:

About the boundaries of Methone and Nauplion and Oulkunēo, I say, that the agreed-upon boundaries were not restored, and because of this My Excellency is sending good and most trusted Emins to visit the said places with your *rettori*, to see and examine them, that they treat your matters with justice, and return home. Your aforesaid representative made his reply, as was proper, whom we send again with respect to Your Excellency, just the firm and unshakeable peace which we have between us requires.¹¹⁸

Nicolò Cocco had been replaced as ambassador, *orator*, in Constantinople by Antonio Vitturi.¹¹⁹ About the same time that Bayezid wrote the Doge, Vitturi wrote Minio

¹¹⁶ This section is taken from the long *dispaccio* of 15 February 1481[82], dated three weeks after the meeting. *Dispacci* ff 50r-52v and 188-191. This much delay in sending such important information is interesting.

¹¹⁷ Sugar, 43; Shaw, 70.

¹¹⁸ Milkosich and Müller III, 312-313: δια τὰ σύνορα τῆς Μωθώνης καὶ τοῦ Ναυπλίου καὶ τοῦ Οὐλκυνή, λέγων, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐδώθησαν τὰ τεταγμένα σύνορα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο στέλνει ἡ αὐθεντία μου καλοὺς καὶ ἐμπηστευμένους ἐμήνηδες, διὰ νὰ παγένουσιν εἰς τοὺς οἰριμένους τόπους μὲ τοὺς ρετούρι σας, νὰ ἴδουν καὶ νὰ ἐξετάζουν, καὶ ὅτι σας τιχένη μὲ τὸ δίκαιο, νὰ στρέφητε πρὸς ἐσάς, καὶ ὁ εἰρημένος ἀποκρισιάρι σας ἐποίησεν τὸ ἀποκρισιάρικην του, καθὼς ἔπρεπεν, τὸ ὁπῆον πάλιν στέλνομεν μὲ τιμὴν πρὸς τὴν αὐθεντίαν σας, καθὼς ἀπετὶ ἡ στερεὰ ἀσάλευτος ἀγάπη, ἣν ἔχωμεν ἀναμέσον ἡμῶν.” When Bayezid’s peace agreement is compared with that of Mehmed, it appears that large sections of text were copied from one to the other, though Bayezid’s statement shows less of an effort to overwhelm, and a greater sense of reverence.

¹¹⁹ Antonio Vitturi q. Benetto q. Zaccaria; died 1486.

that an Emin was coming to look at the boundaries. Minio replied on 15 February 1481[82]:

Because the settlement of the boundaries and castles has already been cleared up and defined by Sinan Bey, Emin, sent by the late Sultan with *ser* Zuam Dario, there are no remaining differences other than the territory of Iria and Candia. In addition, because this place is so close to the border with the Turks, where there are many *stratioti* and other people always in conflict with the Turks, it is necessary to have the peace treaty. I ask VM to please send me the treaty.¹²⁰

It is characteristic of Minio's concern for documentation and precedent that he asked for copies of the agreements: presumably the most recent understandings with Bayezid.

When the Emin arrived at Corinth. Minio sent *ser* Zorzi da Londa to welcome him. Da Londa returned to say that the Emin had given him a "humane and sweet response" (*humana et dolce risposta*), and asked to meet with Minio. The Emin further sent his companion, "il Schiavo" of the Sultan, to visit Minio and tell him that "he favored our affairs" ("favorevole a ce cosse nostre").¹²¹ The Emin reached Argos on 15 March. Minio immediately rode over with about 200 *stratioti* and fifty *fanti* but learned that he had gone inland toward Mouchli.¹²² They met at Kiveri and after the initial formalities, immediately got to the point.

The Emin was to make a census of the Morea ("far l'anagraphi de tutta la Morea"), and settle the territorial boundaries. Minio explained their differences, and could not resist remarking that the problems stemmed from "the ill and wicked intent of Süleyman Bey, the former flamburar-eunuch who bore a great hate for this *terra*."¹²³ The disagreement concerned Candia and Iria, the lands between Nauplion and Thermissi-Castri, but the prospects appeared simple. The Emin had been instructed by Bayezid to make generous restoration of the territory ("liberamente"), and said that there would be no more problems from any Ottoman flamburar, officials, or subjects.

However, the Emin wanted to make the final settlement in the presence of the flamburar, and was going on to find him and after they settled the Methone boundaries, they would come back. "It seemed reasonable to me," Minio said. The Emin and his party rode south. Minio sent a message to the regimen at Methone to let them know what to expect, and what sort of person the Emin was.¹²⁴

Just over three weeks later, on 12 April, the Emin returned. Minio sent a citizen to welcome him, and then went out with two hundred *stratioti* and a hundred foot, many of

¹²⁰ *Dispacci* f 53r and 191 for 15 February 1481[82]: "E perche tal deffinition de i confini et castelli e sta za spazada et deffinida per Sinabei emini mandado per il S.r passato con ser Zuam Dario et non era rimasta altra differentia solum del luogo de Iri et Candia Ulterius perche questo luogo e piu vicino et conzonto a confine con Turchi dove sono molti stratioti et altre zente che ogni di sieno in differentie con i Turchi. Et e necessario che habiano i capitoli de la pace. Pero prego VM gli piage mandarmi i detti capitoli."

¹²¹ This section is taken primarily from *Dispacci* ff 53v-54v and 192-194 for 18 March 1482. *Il Schiavo* probably means "slave" but Minio treats it as a proper name.

¹²² Mouchli was a Byzantine city on the western slopes of Mt. Ktenias. After the siege and capture by Mehmed II in the 1458, many inhabitants moved elsewhere, but there were a few inhabitants in the early 19th century. Some ruins and a small frescoed apse remain.

¹²³ *Dispacci* f 54r and 193: "la mala et iniqua volonta de Sulamambeï olim flamburar Eunuco el qual portava gran odio a questa terra."

¹²⁴ *Dispacci* f 54r and 193: "Parendome esser cossa rasonevole," The officials in Methone were Antonio Soranzo q. Benedetto, and Priamo Tron q. Michele. Hopf, 381. Magno 220.15-16.

them Greek. This time they met at Argos, where they were joined by the voivode of Corinth, representing the flamburar, and the leading Ottoman *subaşı* in the Morea.¹²⁵ The Emin must have come under some pressure from other officials on his trip because, despite Bayezid's letters and his previous exchanges with Minio, they spent several days in dispute. Minio, for his part, was touchy and apparently began by making demands and relating all the former insults and iniquities. The Emin said that the previous Emin had already settled the boundaries, and that Minio had agreed to that settlement. Minio said that agreement had been "with reservation." He began to cite his sources and offered documents and witnesses.

About that they made much argument and contention, our adversaries and opponents being the *dizdar* and cadi of Argos, our neighbors, whom I rigorously confuted and said that they spoke from partiality, and against the truth.¹²⁶

The Emin agreed to listen to witnesses, and once again Mino produced "testimoni 7 homini fide" who were to ride the boundaries with one of the *subaşı*, the *dizdar* of Argos, the flamburar's *scrivan*, four citizens from Nauplion, and Minio's *cancellier*.

They began at the Torre Biancha on the shore, where the boundaries of Nauplion began, and went to a tower called Contarini (he was *rettor* of Argos). They crossed the countryside toward the mountains as far as a mountain called Basso Gremio. From there they turned east and went along the ridge of the mountains, ended up and finished at Capo Schillo, at the coast. They included in it the *castelli* of Castri and Thermissi with their holdings and the territories of Iria and Candia.¹²⁷

This time riding the circuit was left to subordinates, but it was a much more pleasant ride than the previous one in August. The grazing lands were green, the grain was dappled with poppies, and anemones grew under the olive trees. Herons nested in the trees around the Torre Biancha and Basso Gremio, and magenta orchids and yellow flags grew in the marshes. Everyone was much more inclined to agreement. The *scrivan* and the *cancellier* wrote down all the details, "They carefully described the landmarks at each place--farms, mountains, valleys," and the witnesses for both sides agreed at each point.¹²⁸ The descriptions were properly written up and taken back to the Emin at Argos, and after more dispute, he agreed to accept the boundaries as shown.

Before anything was signed, the Emin took Minio's hand and asked him to promise in writing, and on oath that all the families and subjects of the *charazo*, or *haraç*, who had

¹²⁵ This was the Friday after Easter which was 7 April for 1482. This section is taken from *Dispacci* ff 55v-57v and 195-197 for 24 April 1482. Minio's self-confidence has been progressively increasing: in the first discussions he went to Tiryns, then to Kiveri, always keeping one foot in Venetian territory. Now he has left Venetian territory and has gone several miles inside Ottoman territory.

¹²⁶ *Dispacci* f 56r and 195.42-44: "Et sopra cio fatte molte disputation et contese. Essendo nostri adversari et contraddittori El gesdari et El caddi de Argos nostri vicini i qual io vigorosamente confutando et dicendo che oro parlavano partialmente et contra la verita."

¹²⁷ *Dispacci* f 56v and 196.8-14: "Et principando dala Torre Biancha dala marina donde comenza el confin da Napoli et vegnando ad una torre chiamata del [Contarini?] che fo retor ad Argos et traversando la campagna per tramontana in fin a una montagna chimata Basso Gremio. Et de li declinato verso levante et andando per le cime dele montagne applicha et finisce a Capo Schillo ala marina includando dentro i castelli del Castri et Thermissi con le so pertinentie et i luochi de Iri et Candia." The identification of these sites and the actual boundaries of the territory will be discussed in Appendix 7.

¹²⁸ *Dispacci* f 56v and 196.15-16: "descrivendo particolarmente de loco in loco segnali fermi montagne et valli."

fled the Sultan's lands at the time of the peace treaty would be returned, and that he would not accept anyone wanting to leave in the future.¹²⁹ Minio agreed, reluctantly, that where the Emin found Ottoman subjects, he could remove them "per forza." They signed documents and swore oaths. Just before the Emin and Minio exchanged copies, Minio presented gifts. The Sultan's *schiaivo* (who, Minio said, held his stirrup and had no reason to be arrogant about that) would not settle for less than 30 ducats and six arms of scarlet cloth "per una casacha." Minio gave the Emin 40 ducats and six arms of scarlet, the voivode of Corinth 10 ducats, the Emin's servants 5 apiece (there were three servants, judging from the total expense), and the *turciman* 2, for a total of 97 ducats, not counting the cloth, sugar, gifts to the witnesses, and their travel expenses. Again, expenses for the gifts had been pro-rated among those who benefitted directly: the feudatories who held the *castelli* at Thermissi and Castri, and the mills at Kiveri, the bishop's factor, and other feudatories who recovered lands, just as they had done for the Emin with Zuam Dario.¹³⁰

Thus, after more than two years of persistence, Minio had fulfilled the aims of the peace accords and had achieved Ottoman agreement not only to all the land that Nauplion claimed, but more in addition. He could not help boasting:

Most excellent Prince, I inform VS that in this settlement of the boundaries, this place has much more than it should, to such an extent that there are 20,000 *stremmata* more than there were with the previous settlement, not counting the area of Iria and Candia, which are fertile places, most propitious for this land. Thus, absolutely everyone, the citizens and *stratoti* alike, say they are much content and satisfied, and I can say to VS that this place is furnished with such beautiful, large, and ample territory, that it has the capacity for the use and feeding of everyone in the land and territory--who in my judgment are more than 25,000-- citizens and landholders, *stratoti* and Albanians, so that everyone can be content.¹³¹

¹²⁹ *Charazo* = *haraç*: the Ottoman "head" tax on all non-Islamic males over the age of fifteen; *charazari* = *harac-gizar*: persons paying the *haraç*. *Dispacci* f 56v and 196.24-34. "Et anchor quello pagamento deli denari, cioè el ducato per testa, che chiamano Charazo, non lo paga solamente il capo de case, ma ciaschuno deli figlioli, come sono de 15 anni, habbia ne quanti voglia." *L'État de la Grèce en 1533*, in Sathas, *Mnēmeia* VI, 316.11-13.

¹³⁰ *Dispacci* f 57r and 197.7-11 for 24 April 1482. This followed the Venetian model where the costs of community improvements--canals, paving, wells--were assessed so that those in the vicinity who profited from them paid in proportion to the amount of their benefits. Dennis Romano, *Patricians and Popolani: The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State*. Baltimore, 1987.

¹³¹ *Dispacci* f 57r and 197.12-20 for 24 April 1482: "Excelentissimo Principo, notifico la V.S. che in questa consegnation de i confini questo luogo ha havuto molto piu del dovere: per modo che avanzassemo da l'altra consegnation a questa da 20 mila stremati de terreno in suso: ultra i luochi di Iri et Candia, i qual sono luogi fertili et molto a proposito de questa terra: si che universalmente tutti cussi cittadini como stratoti si chiama molto contenti et satisfatti. Et posso dir a la V.S. che questo luogo e fornido de si bello largo et amplissimo territorio che e capace ad uso et victo de tante aneme quante sono in questa terra et suo territorio, che al mio judico passa da 25 mila cussi per cittadini et terrieri como etiam per stratoti et altri albanesi, che tutti se po molto contentare." Magno 233.37-41 gives full credit to "Bartolomeo Minio provedador in la città de Napoli" for accomplishing these results, but dates receipt of the information as 17 April. Senato Mar R. 16, f 108 has a *capitula* from Nauplion referring to the territorial boundaries determined by "Bortholmio Minio con bassa de la amore [Morea]." *Stremmata*: A *stemma* is 1/4 acre; thus 20,000 *stremmata* is the equivalent of 5,000 acres.

. . . solo cum uno suo nepote intro il suo pavion . . .

Late in Minio's term, in January 1482[83], Ahmed Paşa, "with whom I have become warm, good friends for the advantage of this place," was instructed by Bayezid to destroy the castle on the hill at Argos.¹³² Minio sent Nicolò Cacoyanni, a *capo* and "an intelligent man and competent Greek" to meet him.¹³³ Cacoyanni found him four hours away, near Mouchli, and presented the *regimen's* view that Argos castle was of great advantage to the Ottomans, and a discouragement to the thieves and assassins ("ladri et assassini") who would otherwise increase their damages and scandals ("danni et scandoli"). Ahmed said he had no alternative, that Bayezid had been much influenced by the *dizdar* and janissaries at Argos and would not change his mind ("mudar proposito").

Ahmed invited Cacoyanni to eat with him: Cacoyanni, who spoke Turkish, was alone in Ahmed's tent ("pavion") with him and his nephew, Ömer Çelebi whom he trusted more than his own sons.¹³⁴ They wanted to tell him a great secret ("un gran segreto") but asked him to swear an oath not to reveal anything except to "my brother, the *provveditor*" ("lo Provededor, mio fradelo") who was to inform the Signoria as soon as possible:

In the last 200 years it [Venice] has not had a better opportunity and proposition to enlarge its dominion than it has at present. This violence of the Sultan, the one who rules so gently, recently killed the notable Gedik Ahmed Paşa, and now he has sent for Ali Bey, Ömer Bey, and me, who are the leading flamburars, and perhaps he will try to kill us. We have an oath between us, and we know what we have to have to do, and if VS can manage to get the Sultan's brother secretly to Lepanto, or wherever else it thinks, I can offer and promise to arrange that it will have Negroponte, Scutari and all Albania, most of the Morea, and whatever other places it wants.¹³⁵

In the meantime, when Ahmed did leave the Morea, he would be sure Minio had a way to keep in contact with him.¹³⁶

¹³² *Dispacci* f 65 v and 208 for 1 February 1482[83]: "con il qual ho contracto benevolentia e familiarità per ben et comodo de questo luochio." This section draws heavily from that letter.

¹³³ *Dispacci* f 65v and 208 for 1 February 1482[83]: "capo de Stratoti de qui, homo intelligente ed experto Grecho," *Cacoyanni* can most harmlessly be translated as "Bad John."

¹³⁴ *Dispacci* f 66r and 209.25-26: "Omar Zalapi." *Çelebi* is an honorific given an gentleman.

¹³⁵ *Dispacci* f 66r and 209.6-16 for 1 February 1482[83]: "che da anni 200 in qua a non have meglior tempo et partito de amplificar el suo dominio quanto lha al presente. Questo ravagioso del nostro S.r, il qual se governa cussi leziermente, noviter fece amazar Achumed Bassa cussi notabel homo . . . et etiam mando a chiamar Alibei Amarbei e mi, che semo i principali *flamburar* . . . et forse li venira voia de farne morir. E nui avemo sagramento fra nui, et intendemose insieme quanto habiamo a far. Et se la V.S. havera modo de aver el fradelo del S.r et mandarlo secretamente a Lepanto or altrove in queste parte dove li parera: io me offerisco et prometto de far che quella habia Negroponte, Scutari con tutta l'Albania et gran parte dela Morea et altri luogi quanto la voria domandar." Gedik Ahmed Paşa defeated Cem Sultan in June 1481 in his first attempt on the throne, but the next year became drawn into the plot by his father-in-law, İshak Pasha who had become grand vezir, and janissary sympathies. Robert Vatin, "L'ascension des Ottomans," in *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*. Robert Mantran, editor (Paris, 1989), 105, 106. Setton, 384. As is discussed in the following note, the Knights of Rhodes were being paid by Bayezid to keep Cem well out of the way, and the flamburar knew his only chance was to be able to deal with Venice for him.

¹³⁶ This is a remarkable voice from the "paşas' plot" to replace Bayezid by his younger brother, an episode that reflected a deep split between two major philosophies and alliances in Ottoman government. The

Ömer Çelebi rode back to Nauplion with Cacoyanni and visited Minio in the “palese.” Again, he asked to speak privately, and Minio kept the *cancellier* to translate. Ömer asked Minio for an oath, and then “said the words precisely, with great emphasis and conviction” (“narrado precise le parole, cum più larghezza et fermeza”).¹³⁷ Minio made him and his escort a gift, and promised that all information would be sent to the Signoria immediately.

Two days later, Ahmed sent a Nauplion citizen to tell Minio that a new flamburar would arrive any day, and that he had to go to Corinth to make arrangement to travel. Minio sent Cacoyanni to express his disappointment. Cacoyanni met the flamburar’s party on the road in the countryside near Argos, and gave this message in public, before a number of people. Then Ömer Çelebi told Cacoyanni privately that he would always be able to get messages to Ahmed through him, as he would remain in the Morea as *subaşı* of a castle. They bade Cacoyanni farewell with tears in their eyes (“con le lacrime agli ochi”). The following day, Ahmed intructed the timar-holders in the Morea about their responsibility to maintain peace, and then set out for Corinth, but without destroying Argos castle. Minio asked the Signoria: “Please keep this a secret, so the lives of the flamburar and the others will not be in danger.”¹³⁸

Minio’s last *dispaccio* in this collection was written on 25 March 1483. The new flamburar, another Süleyman Bey, had arrived. He sent a voivode to Minio with a warm and gracious letter, asking permission to visit him, and sending two pieces of *zambelotto grosso* which Minio considered of little value.¹³⁹ Minio gave the voivode eight arms of white cloth and an equally gracious letter for Süleyman Bey. When he arrived in Argos on 6 March, Minio was in bed with a migraine.¹⁴⁰ He sent Olivoto de Cavopena, a Nauplion citizen, to welcome Süleyman on his behalf and make his excuses, and to give Süleyman a present of “silvered candy, 2 ½ marks a piece” (“una confetura d’argento per peso marche do e meza”), something he had frequently sent Ahmed Bey. The next day, Süleyman and Minio met at Castellazo with their escorts-- Süleyman had 300 cavalry, timar-holders from

professional military--including Ahmed Gedik Paşa--supported Bayezid, a rather austere and remote personality, in opposition to the older families and elite who supported Cem Sultan, Mehmed’s favorite son. The story of Cem is a long and complex, but interesting, account of plots and counterplots which involved half the governments of western Europe. Cem had proposed to keep Ottoman Asia and give Bayezid Ottoman Europe, which Bayezid rejected. After Cem was defeated by Gedik, he went to Egypt, and after an abortive attempt to fight in eastern Anatolia, went to Rhodes to what he thought was the protection of Knights of the Hospital of St. John who in August 1482 decided to pass him on to Louis XI. Simultaneously, the Knights negotiated with Bayezid who agreed to pay them 45,000 ducats a year to keep Cem quiet and out of Ottoman territory. Cem, who was fat and deeply committed to luxurious living, was moved about for seven years from castle to castle in France where assorted *amours* failed to assuage his boredom. He was transferred to Rome in 1489. At this point, the Grand Master of the Knights of Rhodes was rewarded by being made a cardinal. Cem died in 1495: quite a few people thought he had been poisoned. Vatin, 103-107. Setton 381-416. Shaw, 69-72. Kinross, 161-163.

¹³⁷ At no time in the *dispacci* do Moslems and Christians have any difficult in accepting each others’ religious oaths.

¹³⁸ *Dispacci* f 66v and 210.18-20 for 1 February 1482[83]: “gli piagi tegnir questa cossa in secreto, atio esso flamburar et le altri non havesse a incorrer a periculo de la vita.”

¹³⁹ *Zambeloto* = *sof*, known in the west as *zambellotti*, *ghiambellotti*, and *camlet*, originally a camel’s hair fabric, but often mixed with angora goat hair. Made all across Anatolia, and on Cyprus, it was almost completely responsible for the remarkable dynamism shown in Ottoman trade in Venice in the next century, and was exported as far as China in one direction, and England in another. Cemal Kafadar. *When Coins Turned Into Drops of Dew and Bankers Became Robbers of Shadows: The Boundaries of Ottoman Economic Imagination at the End of the Sixteenth Century*. Ph.D. Dissertation (McGill University, 1986) 184.

¹⁴⁰ *Dispacci* f 67r and 210.34 for 25 March 1483: “io in letto da doglia de testa.”

the Morea; Mino had citizens and *stratioti* on horse, soldiers and Greeks on foot (“soldati et homeni dela terra a piedi”)--and they took up the usual positions on either side of the line. Süleyman gave Minio assurances of peace from Bayezid, including the information that he was relinquishing the annual 100,000-ducat payment required by Mehmed. He was, he said, instructed to destroy castles the Ottomans held in areas bordering on Venetian territory, “so as not to give impediment to the subjects of Your Signoria”: these castles were Arcadia near Methone, Kalamata near Corone, Rampam near Monemvasia, and Argos.¹⁴¹

Bayezid, however, had sent Süleyman another directive, saying that instead of destroying Argos, he should look into the issue of the rebel *stratioti* and Albanians. Minio made a statement to the effect that all this activity on the part of the bandits was totally against the desire and intent of the Signoria, but that the *rettori* were helpless to do anything, as the *stratioti* were the same sort of people as the bandits, and usually related to them. However, the flamburar, however, did have control of the Morea and he could take and punish them, order them to return to their own *catune*, forbid other *catune* from giving them aid and comfort.

Süleyman and Minio reached the following agreement:

Prima: To control the bandits, all Nauplion Greeks, Albanians, and *stratioti* who needed to travel in the Morea for trade and other needs (“per far marchandantia et altri suo bisogna”) would carry an open letter (“lettera aperta”) from Minio with the seal of S. Marco, which would be duly noted in the chancery. Similarly, those from the flamburar’s lands coming into Nauplion territory would have papers from their officials.

Iterum: Those coming to Nauplion territory to avoid the *haraç* in Ottoman territory were to be returned, and “their Turks” (“loro Turchi”) could come and take them by force with the permission of the *regimen*.

Iterum: The families of the bandits would be banned from Nauplion territory, and if they returned, they would be put on boats and taken to an island.

They would live as neighbors in peace and charity (“voler vicinar et viver pacifice et caritative”).

Finally, would use whatever force was necessary to put a stop to the banditry.¹⁴²

This was all discussed, agreed to, and signed in front of the Nauplion citizens and the timar-holders. Then they spoke privately. Süleyman, a distinguished and self-effacing man, told Minio that he had been flamburar in the Morea during the war, and was imprisoned by Mehmed.¹⁴³ While Mehmed was still alive, Bayezid had demanded his freedom and made him a minister at his court. Süleyman expressed a liking for Minio and said that after he had made a tour of the Morea, he wanted to come back with only a small entourage and discuss other matters.

The next day, Minio sent Domenico Gardassi, the *capo* who had translated for the conference, over to Argos to take a present of wine (which Süleyman had requested). In yet another private conference, Süleyman told Gardassi that Bayezid had called Ahmed back to Constantinople because he had wanted him to ride with the cavalry on campaign. Ahmed had originally thought to settle the bandit problem by simply giving them a safe-conduct to leave the Morea, “to remove this thorn from their side,” and use violence on those who

¹⁴¹ *Dispacci* f 67r and 211 for 25 March 1483: “per non dar impedimento a i subdicti dela Vostra Signoria.”

¹⁴² *Dispacci* f 68r and 211.29-212.7 for 25 March 1483.

¹⁴³ *Dispacci* f 68r and 212.8 25 March 1483: “modesto et distinto.”

would not go--though not without Minio's agreement as so many of them were subjects of the Signoria. But because the Ottomans had learned that the Signoria was drafting *stratoti* to take them elsewhere--Cyprus, Candia, Friuli, wherever--it seemed that the country might actually be able to live in peace and tranquility.¹⁴⁴ Bayezid had originally intended to do without assigning another flamburar to the Morea: he believed that the assorted *dizdars* and *subaşıs* could manage their territories, and the Venetian *rettori* could look after the territories adjoining their own, because he had great confidence in the relationships that had been developed in the Morea.¹⁴⁵

Minio concluded his account of Süleyman Bey--this letter was written more than two weeks after the event--by saying that this was not a man to deal with by means of letters: he was someone to talk to, "a bocha." He concluded this final *dispaccio* by reporting Ottoman news: he had heard from Athens that Turks just returned from Constantinople said that Bayezid was in Adrianople, having made a call-up of his people to go into Hungary.¹⁴⁶ Meantime, a "Pasha Eunuch" captured in the fighting in Apulia had been freed with twenty-five other Turks, and was going to Bayezid with an ambassador of King Ferrando to make peace.

■ Piracy

. . . *se nudriga in queste acque . . . moltiplicata a la giornata . . .*

The *ahd-name* of January 1478[79] stated that:

Their men and merchants will come to all the places of My Excellency and will be secure and unrestricted in regards to all their merchandise and galleys and ships.¹⁴⁷

Mehmed continued to support this policy, at least as far as the Adriatic, was concerned. In response to a series of incidents that summer, he wrote Doge Mocenigo, making reference to the peace accords, and promised that restitution would be made for losses:

About the damages inflicted by our *fuste* from Valona in your Gulf, we direct Ahmed Paşa to indemnify your people in full. Moreover, the corsairs have no permission to enter your Gulf, and if they do enter they are to be punished when captured.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ This will be seen in Chapter Four when the *stratoti* drafted for the Ferrara war ride across Ottoman territory to take ship at Lepanto.

¹⁴⁵ No explanation follows as to why he then sent Süleyman Bey. If Bayezid did consider that option, it may have been to prevent further independent efforts such as the recently-quashed plot against him.

¹⁴⁶ Magno 235.25, 37-38

¹⁴⁷ ASV Documenti Turchi, b1/2: καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ πραγματεοτὴ αὐτῶν δὴ ἐξερᾶς καὶ δὴ θάλασσης νὰ ἔρχωνται εἰς πᾶν τόπων τῆς αὐθεντίας μου καὶ νὰ ἦναι σηγοῦρη καὶ ἄνετη μὲ πάσαν τὴν πραγματήαν καὶ μὲ κάτεργα τε καὶ καράβηα· Also Miklosich & Müller Vol. 3, 296, where the spelling is corrected. The spelling was also improved for the Greek copy of the treaty made for the *Liber Graecus*.

¹⁴⁸ Bombaci, #1, p. 303 for 23 September 1479: περὶ τῶν ζημιῶν, ὅπου ἐποίησαν οἱ φοῦστες τοῦ Αὐλῶνος μέσα εἰς τὸν Κόλπον σας, ὥρϊσαμεν τὸν Ἀχμάτ μπασίαν ὅτι νὰ ἱκανοποιήσῃ τοῦ[ς] ἀνθρώπου[ς] σας, ὥς μίαν τρίχαν. καὶ πλεόν νὰ μηδὲν ἔχουσιν ἄδειαν τὰ κουρσάρικα νὰ σεβαινοῦσιν εἰς τὸν Κοκλφον σας. εἰ δὲ καὶ σεβαῖνοῦσιν, νὰ παιδεύου[ν]ται ὅπου πιασθῶσιν. Indemnify "in full": ὥς μίαν τρίχαν, "to a single hair." Also, ASV

It is difficult to think how such a policy could have been particularly enforced, though a later letter emphasized that it applied to all the waters under hypothetical Ottoman control, but the *ahd-name* and Mehmed's letters did at least provide a basis for complaints and discussion. In fact, as the sequence of events will show, reported incidents of piracy appear to have been less frequent before Mehmed's death than after, and many of the incidents reported by Minio and Magno were caused by boats flying the flag of Sta. Maura.

In Minio's first spring in Nauplion, in March 1480, two *fuste* were spotted in the gulf, one of eighteen benches, the other of sixteen. These ships "off their usual course" were pirate *fuste* known to hunt together, one of them usually hovering near Capo Mantello and the other off Capo de le Colone.¹⁴⁹ This time they had seized a *grippo* from Aigina with eighteen men, three *grippi* with men and merchandise from Nauplion territory, and a *grippara* from Candia loading grain in the channel between Negroponte and the mainland.¹⁵⁰ An escapee from the *grippara* had made his way to Nauplion to report the attack. Minio sent a messenger to the *bailo* at Constantinople so he could make a demarche ("accio il faci querella"). He also wrote the flamburar of Negroponte who "responded graciously, as VE will see from the inclosed copy." There were several friendly exchanges: on 4 May 1480. The pleasantries delayed Minio's realization that the flamburar stood behind the worst instances of organized piracy in the Aegean and adjacent waters.¹⁵¹

The first of 1481, the Captain General wrote and asked about recent incidents of piracy at Aigina. The Captain General's questions must have been put in a formal protest to the Sultan: in April, he wrote Doge Mocenigo that "we will look on all you, your nobles and merchants and your men, as our own," and assured him that they would go unmolested on land and sea, in all parts of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁵² Minio, though, had no reports of the Aigina problem, and as some people had just arrived in Nauplion from Aigina, he was sure he would have known had something had happened.¹⁵³ He wrote a brief note to the Signoria the same day which said:

Today, I have just had this news in a letter from a friend who was attacked, and because of the capture of his family has gone to live in Athens, a discreet person named Zuam Mazucato, as Your Signoria will learn from the copy below. You will most wisely decide what seems to you the best

Documenti Turchi b 1/4, contemporary translation b 1/5; *Liber Graecus* ff 3-4v.

¹⁴⁹ *Dispacci* f 9v and 129 for 1 April 80. Capo Colone is the "Cape of Columns" with the temple of Sounion, south of Athens. Lord Byron had an encounter with pirates there. Capo Mantello is the southern cape of the island of Euboea, called Negroponte here.

¹⁵⁰ Manlio Cortelazzo, *L'influsso linguistico Greco à Venetia* (Bologna, 1970) 109, identifies a *grippara* as a boat for grain transport but gives no description.

¹⁵¹ *Dispacci* f 10r and 130.16-18 for 1 April 80: "il qual me respoxe humanamente: como perla introclusa copia dela sua lettera V. E.cc. intendera." *Dispacci* f 13r and 135.18-24 for 4 May 1480. Stefano Magno reported someone making a deposition at Corone about two *bergantini* that belonged to the flamburar. Magno 226.34-35. *Bergantini* were *fuste*.

¹⁵² Bombaci #13, p. 319 for 30 April 1481: θέλωμεν βλέπειν εἰς ὅλους σας, τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ πραγματευτὰς καὶ ἀν(θρ)ώπους σας, ὡς ἰδιητοὺς μας. This letter was sent five days before Mehmed's death. Minio never reports an act of piracy committed against ships from Venice: his concern is with local shipping.

¹⁵³ *Dispacci* f 33r and 160.29-37 for 14 March 1481. The Captain General appears to have been responding to an incident discussed in the Senato, where pirates from Candia--Venetian subjects--had raided at Aigina and taken horses. Secreta R. 29, f 158r for 22 January 1480. Gabriel Welter, *Aigina*. Archäologisches Institut des deutschen Reiches, # 5 (Berlin, 1933) 131. Minio would have known about this, but he was perhaps thinking of something more recent.

thing to do, but I ask that you please keep our friend's name secret, like other matters, so he does not run into trouble.¹⁵⁴

This raises many more questions than it answers, but apparently Mazucato's family were being held as slaves in Athens.

In late April, Minio wrote the Captain General--most letters about piracy are to the Captain General--that corsair *fuste*, Christians and Turks both, and ships from Santa Maura and Coroni had come up into the gulf as far as "Napoli Vecchio."¹⁵⁵ These had done no harm to any of Nauplion's people, but a *grippo* just in reported seeing two *bergantini* heading for Manē where they raided for slaves.¹⁵⁶ Some of these Christian pirates were subjects of Ferrando of Naples who sheltered at Sta. Maura, and changed their flag as convenient, flying the flag of S. Marco when they attacked Turkish islands, and that of the Toccas of Sta. Maura when they attacked Venetian territory.¹⁵⁷ If it was normal for rulers to engage in piracy--corsairs is the term used for state-sanctioned piracy, pirates for private enterprise--nothing appears in the *dispacci* to suggest what role Venice might have had.¹⁵⁸ *Provveditori* were forbidden to accept corsairs, or allow them food from the territory, unless they were from "our friends' lands" ("terre nostre amice").¹⁵⁹

In May, Minio wrote the Captain General again about the "corsairs, Christian thieves" ("corsari, ladri christiani") from Sta. Maura. Only once does Minio report a successful action against pirates, this when Costanzo Loredan, who had the Captain General's commission to go after these, had come across a Sta. Maura *fusta* with forty-one men. He gave chase and captured them, and had brought them with him to Nauplion where they were being held in prison while Loredan helped with the construction. The same day, a man from Negroponte who had married a woman from Nauplion arrived: he had been attacked by them and was able to give a deposition. Four days later, Loredan had to leave in

¹⁵⁴ *Dispacci* f 32r and 160.38-140.3 for 14 March 1481: "in questo giorno per lettera de uno nostro amicho el qual fo danezato et per la captura dela sua fameglia se redusse ad habitar a Sethines de persona discreta nominato Zuam Mazucato: hebi novo come per la infrascritta copia V. S. intendera et quella sapientissima fara quel judio gli parera. Suplicando a quella gli piagi el nome del dicto nostro amicho tegnir in [secreto] acio non incorra a periculo ut alia etc."

¹⁵⁵ "Napoli Vecchio" is Mycenaean Asine, from whence ships sailed for Troy. This is a small fortified peninsula eleven miles from Nauplion by land. Santa Maura is a peninsula of northwestern Greece also known as Leucadia, one of the places belonging to Leonard III Tocco taken by the Ottomans in the summer of 1479. Coroni is an island to the south-west of the Argolid peninsula and so a great threat to shipping, particularly from Castri and Thermissi.

¹⁵⁶ *Dispacci* f 33v and 163 for 20 April 1481.

¹⁵⁷ Magno 230.34. One of these ships was reported wrecked off the coast of Simi in February 1481[82]. 230.40-41.

¹⁵⁸ An interesting report from 1429 has two corsairs (here, "asapi") from Venetian Thessalonikē, Andreas and Theodoro Olbofaci, complaining how hard it was to make a living and asking that their taxes be reduced. Corsairs apparently paid the usual tenth on imports, plus a fifth ("pendamerea") of the value of their takings. They were pardoned the *pendamerea*. *Régestes* II, #2131 for 6 May 1429. Minio's accounts in the *dispacci* of their depredations suggest the potential value of corsairs to the taxing authority.

¹⁵⁹ Sathas I, 294.8-12: "Nullum cursarium recipies in dictis nostris locis, nec permittes eos in victualia comprehendere, nisi forte essent cursarii e comunitate missi alicuius terre nostre amice, nec ipsis cursariis consenties tam si fuerint nostre amicitie quam non, quod sibi vendant mercationes vel aliquis emat eas, nec tu comparabis, nec comparari facies, et si quis emerit, et scieris, eas auferres cui emerit, et pones in dominium." There is no suggestion of who "nostre amice" might be: it sounds like something said in Mafia movies. *Régestes* III #2907 for 4 February 1453.

a hurry to take word of Mehmed's death to Venice, and nothing more was said about those particular forty-one pirates.¹⁶⁰

Mehmed's death and the subsequent relaxation of authority under the new Sultan unleashed a reign of terror for local shipping. On 16 June, Minio sent the Captain General a pile of letters he had received from the consul at Chios and reported a series of disasters. A small fleet of seven *grippi* and *barche* from Nauplion sailing for the sponge-fishing grounds near Chios had been attacked by five Turkish *fuste* at Cape Mantello and chased all the way to Chios. The fishermen (wearing only their shirts) jumped into the water, swam ashore, and fled. The Turks stripped the boats of all merchandise and tackle, and sank the hulks. Some of the men managed to return to Nauplion, but two boats and their crews were completely missing.

Two boats from Nauplion were attacked by a *fusta* from Negroponte and three men were taken. A *gripparia* from Chania was found sunken off Siderocapsia, and the bodies of several men were found on the shore: it had gone in the channel by Marathon to load grain. Minio had just finished writing the letter, when a messenger arrived from Athens with a letter from a Nauplion merchant who had taken two *grippi* to buy oil and wine to bring back to Nauplion. The boats were attacked and all the men taken--enslaved, killed, drowned--and the *fuste* involved were sailing towards the gulf of Argos. Minio repeated what he had written so often before: the sea was the only way the people of Nauplion had to earn their living; if Nauplion had a galley, this kind of thing could have been prevented.¹⁶¹

The summer continued this way, piracies multiplying by the day. There were reports of Catalan pirates ("Cathellano pyrrhati"), and Turks from the nation of the Moors ("Maurorum"), raiding between Sicily, Greece and Alexandria.¹⁶² A *fusta* from Capo Schillo came up into the gulf and took a boat and four men; and another from Kyparissia took a boat with three men who were sold as slaves. All Greek shipping between Kyparissia and Capo Schillo was endangered; any small boat sailing from Cape Malea, Cythera, Nauplion, Aigina, was at risk, and boats from Nauplion were on those routes daily. In 1481 alone, Nauplion had lost thirty men, mariners, "men of value" ("homeni da conto").¹⁶³ Minio sent a citizen from Methone to the ambassador in Constantinople to make a report and ask Bayezid's help in getting the men back. He also sent a Nauplion Greek, elected by the relatives of those who were taken, to the ambassador.¹⁶⁴

There was apparently another flurry of attacks, although they are not described specifically. On 13 September Minio sent a copy of a letter from Giustiniani on Chios, and on 27 September he reminded the Captain General that he had told him about the *fuste* in earlier letters.¹⁶⁵ On 5 October he wrote that twenty-eight men from Nauplion territory had been seized recently by *fuste*. The same *fuste* had taken fifteen men from Aigina who had

¹⁶⁰ *Dispacci* ff 34v-35r and 164-165 for 20 May 1481.

¹⁶¹ *Dispacci* f 36 and 166-167 for 16 June 1481.

¹⁶² Senato Mar R. 11, f 118v for 7 July 1481.

¹⁶³ In two letters, Minio has listed 13 boats taken by pirates. Thirteen boats and thirty men illustrate dramatically the insult to Nauplion's thin economy, not to mention the personal losses.

¹⁶⁴ *Capo Schillo*: the cape at the south-east of the Argolid, just below Poros. Kyparissia: port and castle of the western Morea, north of Methone. *Capo Malea*: cape of the southern Morea, below Monemvasia. *Cythera*: Venetian-held island south of Malea. *Dispacci* 169-170 for 22 August 1481. "Eletto per i parenti de questi che fo presi: it must have been a fairly stiff expense for Nauplion Greeks to send an ambassador to Constantinople.

¹⁶⁵ *Dispacci* f 38v and 170.22-27 for 13 September 1481; f 42r and 176.16-17 for 27 September 1481.

gone to the neighboring island of Angistri to harvest their crops, and then taken another boat with men from Aigina. They also took a *grippo* sailing from Monemvasia to Athens. Altogether, Aigina had now lost sixty men, in addition to other losses to raids and looting.¹⁶⁶ Not only was the *terra* suffering the human losses, but the loss of the taxes that should have been collected on what these mariners would have brought back to Nauplion; the gulf was dangerous enough so that it was difficult for people in other places in the Morea to ship food or anything else there to sell; Nauplion was in danger of famine.¹⁶⁷

Three *fuste* from Capo Schillo were hunting as a pack, threatening the area between Castri and Thermissi. The *rettor* of Aigina wrote that a *grippo* from Monemvasia loading wine at the port of Athens had been attacked, three men captured, and the boat looted.¹⁶⁸ Minio wrote several letters that day: a long letter about the *stratioti* and their tax problems, and short letters about the rebellion and pirates, but he kept the most upsetting news for the last. This was the letter about the pirate attack on Antonio Marinato and his men, when sixteen men were captured and two boats taken¹⁶⁹

Minio sent at least two messengers that October to the ambassador in Constantinople and another to the Captain General. He totaled the losses: Nauplion, 28 captured and 16 dead; Aigina, 20; Monemvasia, 3; Cythera, 35 captured and 3 dead. Two *gripparie* from Methone and one from Corone, with all their men and cargoes of wheat, were missing.¹⁷⁰ Pirate *fuste* covered long distances: five had come from Gallipoli to the canal between Negroponte and the mainland where they took three *gripparie* that had loaded wheat.¹⁷¹

Perhaps the fall rains brought the reduction in attacks: almost nothing is reported the rest of the year, and there was even good news. Antonio Marinato and two companions reappeared in mid-December, an event that must have put heart into many who heard of it, particularly when news of the sequel reached Nauplion a little later.¹⁷² The four *fuste* that had attacked Marinato and his party, operating in unfamiliar waters in the Aegean, attacked *grippi* from Methone, made the men prisoners, and took their goods. One of the Methone mariners familiar with the route was put to steer a *fusta*. Evidently made of the same stuff as Marinato, he deliberately ran the boat onto rocks where it broke up. The other *fuste* landed, hoping to rescue as much cargo as possible, and repair the other. This same man managed to escape from the island and get taken aboard a trading galley belonging to Tomaso Malipiero that was carrying wool from Salonika.¹⁷³ Malipiero and his galliotes--at least two hundred armed men--landed on the island, captured the pirates, took the Methone men and their possessions home, and handed the pirates over to the Methone prison.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁶ *Dispacci* f 42v and 176.37-177.19 for 5 October 1481. Aigina is part of Nauplion *terra*, although it only appears in the *dispacci* in the context of piracy.

¹⁶⁷ *Dispacci* f 39v and 172.9-14 for 8 October 1481.

¹⁶⁸ *Dispacci* f 41r and 174.43-44; f 42r and 176.7-10 for 8 October 1481. The *rettor* of Aigina, 1480-1485, was Francesco Zane di Francesco. Welter, 132. .

¹⁶⁹ *Dispacci* f 43 and 177-178 for 8 October 1481. Marinato's story was told in the last section of Chapter Two.

¹⁷⁰ *Dispacci* f 41r and 174.32 for 8 October 1481; f 44r and 178.41-43 for 17 October 1481; f 44r and 179.1-9 for 20 October 1481.

¹⁷¹ *Dispacci* f 44v and 180.5-9 for 13 November 1481.

¹⁷² *Dispacci* ff 47v-48r and 184-185 for 13 December 1481. As already mentioned in the previous chapter, Marinato's story suggests something of the arbitrary nature of piracy and recovery.

¹⁷³ Tomaso Malipiero was one of a large and powerful mercantile family. See Chapter One, n56.

¹⁷⁴ Magno 232.6-25 for 9 March 1482.

In January, Minio wrote a long letter to Antonio Vitturi in Constantinople. It was essential to give his side of the story about the Bua revolt in December, but he also used the opportunity to make a formal complaint about the Turkish *fuste*.¹⁷⁵ His letter to Constantinople crossed a letter and peace accord from Bayezid to Doge Mocenigo which closely followed that of Mehmed in affirming the safety of all under Venetian authority, “by land and sea, inside and outside the Straits [Hellespont].”¹⁷⁶ Bayezid’s declaration may have had some ameliorative effect, as it was six months before the *dispacci* recorded another case of piracy.

Three *fuste* landed at Castri and attacked a tower of the small fortress just before dawn. When the men of Castri woke up and realized that the *grippi*--belonging to Damian Agrimi and loaded with cheese--were in the hands of the Turks, they fought back. One man was killed, another seriously wounded. The Turks towed one *grippo* behind them and sank the second. Outside the port of Castri, they found another *grippo*, this one belonging to *ser* Zorzi da Londa: its men managed to escape but the pirates looted the boat and sank it.¹⁷⁷ Minio used this boldness--first they attacked boats but now they are attacking a castle--to plead again for a galley. In fact, the *università* of Nauplion had requested him to write the Signoria promising that, if it would send them a galley hull, they would pay for its equipping and arming. A galley would put terror (“darà terror”) in the *fuste*: otherwise, they were simply prisoners of the Turks.¹⁷⁸

In September, two *grippi* were taken from Aigina, “and they have taken many men from the best mariners of this place” (“e hanno preso molti homeni de i miglior marinari de questo lucho”). Minio sent a messenger to the flamburar of Negroponte protesting his tolerance of the *fuste* that operated from there, and his granting “welcome and bread” (“recepto et panaticha”) to *fuste* from as far as Gallipoli and Anatolia. Minio also wrote Baptista Gritti, the *bailo* at Constantinople. He had just finished a long letter to the Signoria when he got more information: four *fuste* from Negroponte attacked three Nauplion boats loading grain at Marathon: the men gave battle and managed to protect themselves and their boats. This, to Minio, was beyond piracy: it was outright war.¹⁷⁹

In late October, when Minio wrote Gritti again, more than a hundred men had gone missing from Nauplion territory because of pirates. Some of them had been sold at Negroponte where the flamburar was running at least three *fuste* of his own. Andrea Pulimeri, who is not further identified, had gone to Venice where “he had already stayed for a long time at great expense and had found several slaves, though so far he has not been able to have them,” so it was known where some of the missing men were.¹⁸⁰ Minio enclosed a list of the men taken the year before with Marinato, still missing. Three more boats had been taken at Aigina. “I inform Your Excellency that, since the peace was made, more damage has been done than was done in all the time of the last war,” comparing three and a half years to sixteen years.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁵ *Dispacci* f 48v and 186.3-6 for 7 January 1481[82]

¹⁷⁶ Miklosich & Müller Vol. 3, 314 for 12 January 1481[82]: διὰ ξερᾶς καὶ θαλάσσης, μέσα καὶ ἔξω τοῦ Στενοῦ.

¹⁷⁷ *Dispacci* f 63r and 206.5-8 for 25 October 1482.

¹⁷⁸ *Dispacci* f 61v and 202-203 for 7 July 1482.

¹⁷⁹ *Dispacci* f 63r and 205.13-21; f 62 and 204.4-18 for 11 September 1482.

¹⁸⁰ *Dispacci* f 63v and 203 for 25 October 1482: “il qual ha stentado za tanto tempo con gran spexa et ha trovato alcuni schiavi e pur in fina hora non li ha possudo haver.”

¹⁸¹ *Dispacci* f 63r and 205.30-206.14; f 64 and 206.40-207.3 for 25 October 1482: “Notificando ala V. Ex.i, che dopo fatta la pace: in qua esta fatto piu danni: che non fo fatto in tutto el tempo dela guerra passata.”

The *provveditor* of the fleet, Christoforo Duodo, arrived on 8 November with seven galleys. Two galleys needed repair, and this kept Duodo in Nauplion long enough to have an opportunity to see for himself just what damages the colony had suffered. He immediately sent three galleys in pursuit of the *fuste*, two of which Minio knew belonged to the flamburar of Negroponte, one of 18 benches and another of 12 benches. On Duodo's way back up into the Adriatic, he captured a single *grippo* from Avlona.¹⁸² Ottoman politics worked to relieve the problem for a while. Minio learned that Bayezid had sent Ömer Bey to Negroponte and Attica to sniff out what he could about the *paşas'* plot. Whatever he had sniffed, it was enough to get the flamburar recalled to Constantinople and another sent to replace him, though perhaps Minio's letters about piracy played a part. Certainly, Bayezid did not want to alienate Venice as long as his brother's rebellion was an issue. As soon as the new flamburar arrived on Negroponte, Minio sent a messenger to congratulate him on his arrival, and to exchange the usual assurances of good will and neighborliness.¹⁸³ Magno recorded: "Meanwhile, many attacks were made on subjects of the Signoria in the gulf of Nauplion by several *fuste*; this information arrived 15 December."¹⁸⁴

The voivode of Mistra had written Minio a letter which he sent on to the Signoria, saying that a ship of Ferrando of Naples with 700 men, apparently going to fight for Bayezid on Cyprus, had run around at Manē in a storm. As the Venetians had large financial interests in Cyprus, and were finagling to get final possession, this was of extreme importance.¹⁸⁵

This January letter was the last mention of piracy, although Magno reported in March that the Tocco of Kefalonia were sending "navili et bergantini" against Venetian ships and there is no reason to think that it ever stopped.¹⁸⁶ If Bayezid and the flamburars were able to curtail the worst abuses of Aegean piracy for a while, it remained a primary fact of life for Greece.¹⁸⁷ In 1527, the *rettor* of Nauplion, Bernardini Contarini wrote about Nauplion's suffering from piracy. If anything, conditions had become worse: because the territory was so poor, the men had to sail summer and winter, and because no light galleys remained in southern Greece over the winter, there was no protection from pirate *fuste* who had a free hand.¹⁸⁸ Examples of incidents from other contemporary reports could be

¹⁸² Magno 236.8-9. A *grippo*, however, was too slow and carried too few men to have been of any use in piracy.

¹⁸³ *Dispacci* f 64v and 207.22-35 for 14 November 1482. Duodo arrived on the 8th and the galleys were to be repaired by the 18th, so this letter will have gone with them then.

¹⁸⁴ Magno 235.3-4: "Interim per alcune fuste in colfo de Napoli in mar fu fatto molti danni ai subditi della Signoria: questo se have adi 15 decembre."

¹⁸⁵ *Dispacci* f 65 and 208 for 11 January 1482[83]. Ferrando had earlier sent three galleys to participate in the attack on Rhodes. Magno 226.36-42. Seven hundred men on a ship is a very large number, but medieval shipping could handle that many, if not with a high level of sanitation. In 1384, a round ship carrying pilgrims embarked 600. Lane, *Venetian Ships*, 30. At the naval battles of 1499, the Ottomans had two round ships, each with 1,000 on board. Lane, "Naval actions," 149. In the Fourth Crusade, at least four ships, the *Paradise*, the *Pilgrim*, the *Violet*, and the *Eagle*, were each capable of transporting a thousand people. Donald E. Queller, and Thomas F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople* (2nd edition, Philadelphia, 1997) 69.

¹⁸⁶ Magno 236.12-16.

¹⁸⁷ In 1486, Bayezid wrote the Signoria and authorized them to punish Ottoman corsairs who plundered Venetian ships. ASV Documenti turchi, b 1/33.

¹⁸⁸ *Relationes* 248.1-7. Piracy remained a problem well into the 19th century and few towns were located on the coast as a protection against raids. Watchtowers, *viglia*, against pirates can be seen all along the coast of the Morea, and play a prominent role in folksongs. Alberto Tenenti's book, *Piracy and the Decline of Venice*,

multiplied indefinitely. When there was peace between Constantinople and Venice, it was politically expedient to contain the corsairs. But whatever the peace woven by Doge and Sultan, by *rettori* and *flamburars*, corsairs by sea and land could always slip through the mesh of treaties and friendships, and it was by them that Greeks, Venetians and Ottomans found their peace constantly violated.¹⁸⁹

1580-1615 (Bari, 1962; English version, Berkeley, CA, 1967) continues the story and shows how greatly piracy intensified, concomitant with the use of slaves instead of free men as oarsmen.

¹⁸⁹ The bandits will be discussed in the following chapter.

■ CHAPTER FOUR ■

■ The Kladas Uprising ■

■ Tradition of Revolt

... *con el Clada ai danni de Turchi* ...

On 9 October 1480, Krokondēlos Kladas led a band of *stratioti* to secede from Venetian authority and war independently against the Turks in the Morea.¹ Neither Kladas nor any of those with him left any explanations of their action, but at least some of their reasons were quite straightforward and can be found in the simple sequence of events. Other reasons, less obvious and more profound, become clear in the *dispacci*. Minio, while not dealing directly with Kladas, took the initiative for the Venetian side in settling the revolt and, although the severe inconvenience and disruptions to Nauplion and to him personally lasted far beyond Kladas' part in the revolt, he explained the Kladaioti side with great sympathy.

A brief survey of the Krokondēlos and Kladas families' two-hundred-year tradition of independent action and his own background as a *capo* are useful in setting a context for his action, both personally and in terms of Moreote instability. The family--what is taken for granted to be the family--is first mentioned in *The Chronicle of the Morea*, in an account of a revolt in 1297, triggered when a French knight struck a Greek named Krokondēlos before witnesses at the Arakova fair.²

After the Byzantine re-conquest of Constantinople in 1261 by Michael VIII and the subsequent surrender of important Moreote, the hold of the Frankish principate on their remaining land in the Morea was tenuous. Michael established a Despotate at Mistra in the heart of the Morea and began retaking Byzantine land from the principate. The Franks built a series of border castles to defend themselves against Greek incursions, one of these, Ag. Giorgios, near Arakova. Furious at the public insult, Krokondēlos decided to take Ag. Giorgios, and arranged a Trojan-horse plot with the aid of his son-in-law who was a cook in Ag. Giorgios, and a guard whom he bribed. After conferring at Mistra with Leon

¹ The spelling of Krokondēlos varies widely in Greek texts: Venetian spellings have even more variation. I use the spelling in the single Greek document that can be connected directly to him, an inscription commemorating a donation to a church, in which the name Krokondēlos occurs alone, without Kladas. Appendix 8 contains the known texts which relate to the Kladas and Krokondēlos families, other than those in the Venetian Senato and Senato Mar records.

² Jean Longnon, Jean, *Chronique de Morée: Livre de la conquête de la princée de l'Amorée* (Paris 1949). §§803-817. See Appendix 8 for the key passage.

Mavropappas, Krokondēlos returned to Ag. Giorgios and was smuggled into the castle. When Mavropappas arrived with his Turkish mercenaries and threatened attack, Krokondēlos surrendered the castle. Florent of Hainault, Prince of the Morea, besieged Ag. Giorgios unsuccessfully, and with his death the next year, the Franks were in no position to make a further effort. Krokondēlos retained possession of the castle and it was this castle that a descendant, Krokondēlos Kladas, surrendered to Mehmed II in 1458 when he came into the Morea.³

In the fourteenth century, the Krokondēlos family achieved a substantial position in the Despotate. The Kladas branch of the family supposedly appeared in the Morea in the thirteenth century and in 1362 a Leon Kladas, an archon, was recorded as giving a vineyard to the Brontochion Monastery of Mistra.⁴ In 1375, four officers of the family made the Brontochion a gift of a “watered field.”⁵

In 1415, a Krokondēlos Kladas acquired literary fame as the result of the visit of Manuel II who came to the Peloponnesos and rebuilt the Hexamilion at the Isthmus as defense against the Ottomans. The chronicle writers in the Morea were not overly impressed with the presence of an Emperor:

1415. The lord Manuel Palaiologos, Emperor, came on 30 March, Great Saturday, and built the Hexamilion in May.⁶

To finance the wall, Manuel called for a special levy from the wealthier families and landholders who gave him armed rebellion instead. Manuel defeated a group of landholders in a battle near Kalamata in July, but at the end of September he wrote that he was still praying to capture the rebel strongholds. Referring to this rebellion, a contemporary satire wrote of “the lying, ripened words, the trap of the calculating Crocodile, the Swamp-Scum with his sickle.”⁷ This seems to be the first sighting of the “crocodile” pun on Krokondēlos, but it stuck and reappeared in subsequent generations. Manuel himself wrote an account of the rebellion, giving no names and little specific information, although with one particular exception:

First of all, those who are superior in character and wisdom . . . strongly approved the idea of not leaving themselves constantly exposed as easy spoils and prey to the hands and mouths of their enemies; . . . All the swarms of Illyrians [Albanians] thought and said the same.⁸

³ This is the Krokondēlos Kladas discussed in this chapter. The thirteenth-century Despotate had Turks in their hire and used them in the Morea. The Franks hired some Turks away from the Despot, and gave them castles and Frankish wives. There is disagreement as to the identity of Ag. Giorgios. Antoine Bon, *La Morée franque* (Paris 1969) 146, 169-170, 378-382, 386-387. Also, K. A. Romaios, “Topographika tēs Frankokratias,” *Peloponnēsiaka* 2 (1957) 1-26, and abstract, 472-473. Neither has information on the Kladaï.
⁴ *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi Sacra et Profana*. Vol.1: *Acta Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*. Franz Miklosich and Ioseph Müller, editors (Vienna, 1865). *Lexicon*, Κλαδᾶς, says the the Kladaï were in the Morea in the 13th century: it is not clear whether this is a reference to the Krokondēlos of *The Chronicle of the Morea*.

⁵ Nikos Beēs, “Diorthoseis kai paratērēseis: eis afierotērion tou 1375 etous pros tēn en Mystra monēn tēs Panagias tou Brontochiou,” *Nea Sion* 5-6 (1907) 245, 247-248. The relevant text is in Appendix 8.

⁶ *Short Chronicles*, 246-247, #s 26-27: ἡλθεν κύρ Μανουήλ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Παλαιολόγος (μηνὶ μαρτίῳ, ἡμέρα τοῦ Μεγάλου Σαββάτου) καὶ ἔκτισεν τὸ Ἐξαμίλιον, μηνὶ μαΐῳ. Great Saturday is the day before Easter. Fine, II, 539-540.

⁷ *Mazaris Journey to Hades*, edition with translation and notes by Seminar Classics 609, SUNY-Buffalo (1975) xxvi-xxviii, 84.12-13, 118 n84: τοῦ Κροκοδείλου καὶ Ἑλλαβοῦρκου τοῦ δρεπανηφόρου τοὺς λόγους τοὺς ἀπάτης καὶ δόλου μεστοὺς γενναίως διενεγκών.

⁸ *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus*. CFHB 8. George T. Dennis, editor and translator (Washington, DC,

There had been continual Albanian immigration into Greece since before the mid-1300s, and particularly after the battle of Kossovo in 1397. They went into service with the Despot and then, moving farther south, with the Venetians.⁹ Albanian conflicts with Venetian authorities can be tracked in numerous Venetian records, particularly in those concerning Methone and Corone.¹⁰ Because Albanians were primarily herdsmen and came to be a third of the population in some areas, the Moreote economy showed a clear drop in agricultural production although population actually increased.¹¹ There was much less conflict around Nauplion than in the south: in 1398, *rettor* Ottaviano Bon was congratulated for installing Albanians on the lands around Argos depopulated by Turkish raids, although he was warned against trusting them with the duty of castle guard.¹²

Beginning in 1423, there were several revolts in the Morea, symptomatic of general Balkan and Byzantine instability, in which Albanians played a prominent but far from exclusive part.¹³ A generation later, when the brothers of the last Emperor were ripping the Morea to shreds after the Fall of Constantinople, there was a cluster of revolts, one of them led by Manuel Kantakuzenos, great-grandson of the Emperor John VI Kantakuzenos.¹⁴ Another leader was said to be a Petros Kladas:

When the Albanians who were in the Morea learned their lords wanted to leave the place and go to the Franks, they broke faith and rose up, and they made Petros Kladas, a bad individual, the first captain and he wanted to become leader in the Morea.¹⁵

1977) #68, lines 102-108: οἱ μὲν, οἱ κρείττους τὸν τρόπον τε καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν . . . μάλ' ἐπεήνουν τὸ μὴ σφᾶς ἀεὶ προκεῖσθαι λάφυρον ἔτοιμον καὶ βορὰν χερσὶ καὶ στόμασι τῶν ἐχθρῶν . . . τούτοις δὲ καὶ ὠμοφρόνουν καὶ ὠμολόγουν καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν ἅπαντα σμήμη. Besides saying that the Moreote Albanians did not participate in the revolt, this provides contemporary witness that Korkondēlos was not considered an Albanian. This would not be a question at all were there not such anxiety among recent Greek historians, disregarding all the evidence of Greek ancestry, to avoid the suggestion of an Albanian identity.

⁹ Balkan and Albanian disruption can be traced back to the Angevin conquests after 1270, if not to the Third Crusade a hundred years earlier, and much of the nomadism which contemporary urban writers criticized was a response to various invasions. Ducellier, "Le migrazione," 235-237. Fine, II, 542. The Albanian populations, however, were far from being homogenous.

¹⁰ Albanians raided Venetian territory from the Despotate for years before going to work for them. Sathas, III, reprints a number of relevant documents, such as the one, pp. 174-188 for 11 June 1418, discussing the violence of the Albanians against Venetian villeins. Sathas I, 176 for 22 May 1435, and Senato Mar R. 11, f 17v has the first permission for Corone to hire Albanian *capi*, one with 5000 horsemen, the other with 50. For basic discussions of the Ottoman conquests in Albania and subsequent emigration, see Fine, II, 320ff, 355ff. Also Shaw, 51ff.

¹¹ Beldiceanu, *Recherches*, 37. Fine, II, 542.

¹² Hopf, 383. *Régestes*, I, 950. Venetian sources reported 14,000 males enslaved. In later generations, dissatisfaction about lands held by Albanians led to attempts at reassignment. *Régestes* III, #2841 for 27 October 1450; #2865 for 26 July 1451, which comments that, although Albanian settlement appears to be an old matter, the results are still present.

¹³ The 1423 revolt was quelled by Turkish mercenaries who left a pile of 800 Albanian skulls near Tripolis. Ducellier, "Les migrations," 244-245.

¹⁴ Rogan, 29-30. Fine, 541-542, has interesting remarks about Moreote conflicts between the magnates and the Constantinopolitan court at Mistra which ruled without consultation with them.

¹⁵ Georgios Th. Zoras, *Chronikon peri ton tourkon soultanon* (Athens 1958) 94: Καὶ οἱ Ἀλβανῖτες ὁποῦ ἦσαν εἰς τὸ Μορέα ὡς ἐμάθανε πῶς οἱ ἀφεντάδες θέλουνε ν' ἀφήσουν τὸν τόπον νὰ πάνε εἰς τὴν Φραγκία, ἀπιστήσανε καὶ ἐσηκώσανε κεφάλι καὶ ἐκάμανε πρῶτον καπετάνιον τὸν Πέτρο Κλάδο, κακοποιὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἐθυμῆθη νὰ ἀφεντέψῃ τὸν Μορέα. This chronicle derives much from the history written by Chalcocondyles who also mentions Petros Kladas. Chalcocondyles says that the Moreote Greeks were part of this revolt. Laonicus Chalcocondylas. *De rebus Turcicis*. Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn, 1922) 557.20-558.1. There is no reason to assume that Petros Kladas was or was not a close relative of the Kladaï discussed here.

Both sides asked for Ottoman aid, and Ottoman armies were sent into the Morea in 1453 and 1454.¹⁶ Venice maintained a highly equivocal position during this, encouraging one side and then the other, but particularly the magnates and Albanians, under the assumption that not only would a centralized Byzantine state jeopardize Venetian interests in the Morea, but also that the any of the parties allied with the Ottoman would be a greater threat.¹⁷ The intense rivalry between the two despots led to the one, Thomas, allying with western interests; and to the other, Demetrios, allying with the Ottomans; and to Greeks, Albanians, and Italians fighting Greeks, Albanians, and Turks.

Early in the revolt, in September 1453, the Senato sent Vittore Capello to talk to the Albanian leaders and Kantakuzenos, with instructions to make both sides think he was neutral and not to put anything on paper (“sine litteris declarari”). In a long series of actions on 16-17 July 1454, they directed Capello to help make peace between the Despots, while another emissary was to discuss with Albanian leaders the possibilities of partition in the Morea and to investigate the “conditiones” of the Greeks and Albanians. Venice was also concerned that the Morea might be seized by the Genoese or the Catalans. The Despots were to be convinced of Venetian friendship, and the imminent and total ruin of their dominion, while the Albanians were to be engaged in discussion about holding territories under Venice. In September, it was decided to be neutral (“esse neutrales”) as far as the Despots were concerned, and to offer *provisioni* to various unnamed Albanians.¹⁸

When Mehmed II came in person to the Morea in 1458, the younger Krokondēlos, grandson of the Krokondēlos mentioned above, held the family castle of Ag. Giorgios.¹⁹ Those archons and landholders who made submission to Mehmed were assimilated into the Ottoman system and given new land.²⁰ The Kladai were given the castle of Vardounia in

He was soon replaced by Manuel Kantakuzenos. This Kladas does not seem to appear in Venetian sources but Petro Bua, an Albanian, is known from several sources as one of the leaders who made peace with the Ottomans before fighting against them in Venetian service. (See the following note.) Kladas was not an uncommon name, and there were a number of Kladas families in Crete: “Cladi, id est Ramuli, qui sunt centum octuaginta” (“The Kladai, or Ramuli, who are 180”), in Christofor Buondelmonti, *Description des Îsles de l’Archipel Grec 1417-1422*. Émile Legrand, editor (Amsterdam, 1974) 134. It is possible that Kladas has at various times been a deliberately-created name. I have friends from a Greek-American family named Clones. The original family, by name of Oikonomakos, from the malevolent mountains of the Kakouvoulia (below, n23 and Map 1), had, with the exception of one survivor, been eliminated in Maniote feuding. To protect himself, Oikonomakos created another name, Clones, from κλώνος or κλωνάρι which, like Kladas, mean “branch.”

¹⁶ There exists a small and fragile document in which, in December 1454, Mehmed II accepted the submission of a number of Moreote archons and their followers: Sfrantzes, Manuel Raul, Sōfianos, Dēmētrios Laskaris, Diplobatzis, Kabakeos Pagamenos, Frankopoulos, Sgouromallos, Mavropappas, Filanthropēnos, and Petro Bua. □t this time the Kladai were not included. ASV Documenti Turchi, b. 1/1.

¹⁷ Fine, II, 542, 564. Ducellier, “Les migrations,” 246. For documents, Sathas I, 215ff. Many of these are summarized in *Régestes* III: see #2944 for 2 October 1453; #2967 for 18 June 1454; #2973 for 16 July 1454; #2981 for 24 September 1454; #2987 for 13 March 1455.

¹⁸ Not put anything on paper: “Debeat . . . intelligenti verbo sine literis declarari,” Sathas I, 217 for 17 October 1453; 218-223 for 16-17 July 1454; 225 for 24 September 1454. Setton, 147-149, has an extensive discussion of the Venetian role.

¹⁹ It is not clear whether it was Theodoros Kladas or his son, the younger Krokondēlos Kladas, whom the *Lexikon* calls the chief of Manē loyal to the Palaiologoi, as the Palaiologoi were fighting each other. It may simply mean that they did not participate in the uprising, though that seems extremely unlikely.

²⁰ These pragmatic submissions are difficult for some Greek historians to assimilate. See Denis A. Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée*. Vol. 2: *Vie et Institutions* (Paris, 1932; reprint, London, 1975) 115, where he lists various archons who made submission but covers submission by: “certains chefs militaires se sont distingués par leur bravoure et par leur sacrifice.” Such assignment of landholdings, or *timars*, to Christians and even monasteries was not at all uncommon: between ten and twenty percent of the Ottoman cavalry from Europe came from this origin. Cemal Kafadar, “The Ottomans and Europe,” Brady, *Handbook*,

Outer Manē.²¹ Giorgios Phrantzes, reusing the old pun, and adding a new and worse one, explained:

After the Emir (Sultan) had besieged Leontari and its surrounds, he also besieged Ag. Giorgios. Seeing this, Krokontilo, or rather, Krokodeilo made submission to him and handed over to the Emir both the *castro* and his two sons. In return for this, he made him a gift of Lōi or, rather Elōi, Elōi, that is, ‘My God, my God, why did you not abandon him, too, being the moving spirit of the aforementioned evils?’²²

The new Kladas lands extended from the plain of Elos, at the rim of the gulf south of Sparta, to the *Kakovoulia* where the castle of Vardounia controlled the central pass to Inner Manē.²³ After the loss of the Despotate, the Kladai went into Venetian employ: it is not clear whether this was directly after the surrender, or when the war began five years later.

The many deaths from plague among the Italian soldiers early in the 1463-79 war forced Venetian officials to hire increasing numbers of mercenaries locally, more convenient and less expensive than bringing them from Italy.²⁴ Giacomo Barbarigo, *provveditor* of the Morea for one year of the war, mentioned the Kladai among a list of outstanding *stratioti* from five families whose employment by the Venetians would attract Greeks and Albanians currently in Turkish employ.²⁵ A few days after that, Barbarigo wrote more specifically:

601.

²¹ Outer (the northern half) and Inner (the southern half) are traditional names for the main divisions of Manē which have topographical, architectural, and linguistic differences.

²² Georgios Phrantzes, *Cronaca*. Riccardo Maisano, editor (Rome, 1990) 162.9; also, Georgios Phrantzes, *Memorii, 1401-1477*. In anexă, *Pseudo-Phrantzes: Macarie Melissenos Cronica, 1258-1481*. Vasile Grecu, editor (Bucharest, 1966) 120.9: Τοῦ οὖν ἀμῆρᾶ, ὡς δεδηλώκαμεν δουλώσαντος τὸ Λεοντάριν καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸ, ἐδούλωσεν ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἅγιον Γεώργιον. ταῦτα γὰρ ἰδόντος τοῦ Κροκοντύλου, ἢ μᾶλλον Κροκοδείλου εἰπεῖν οἰκειότερον, προσεκύνησε καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν ἀμῆρᾶν καὶ τὸ κάστρον καὶ τοὺς δύο υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ αὐτῷ δέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔλαβε χάριν τούτων τοῦ Λωί, ἢ μᾶλλον τοῦ Ἐλωί, Ἐλωί, τουτέστι Θεέ μου, Θεέ μου, ἵνα τί μὴ καὶ αὐτὸν προεγκατέλιπες τῶν προλεχθέντων κακῶν πρωτεργάτην. There is a problem here, in that, of the two sons credited to Krokondēlos, the oldest was born in 1475, which would make it difficult for either of them to have been hostages in 1458.

²³ *Kakovoulia*, “malevolent.” See Map 1. Barbarigo reported that Vardounia was in an area with an abundance of straw and water (“habundante de strame, et aque”) 11.1-2. Barbarigo constantly emphasizes the strategic importance of this site. “The castle . . . is surrounded on three sides of often sheer rock faces of heights varying from 10 to 50 metres,”: “The Castle of Vardounia and defence in the Southern Mani,” Peter Burridge in *The Archaeology of Medieval Greece* edited by Peter Lock and G. D. R. Sanders (Oxford, 1996), 19-28, especially map, p. 24 and cover photograph. Burridge dates the castle before the 15th century, but does not seem to know the Kladai or Barbarigo’s *dispacci*. G. Ē. Kapsalis, “Bardounia kai oi tourkobardouniotes,” *Peloponnesiaka* 2 (1957) 91-140 and photographs, says nothing about the Kladai but gives the later history of the area.

²⁴ Albanian mercenaries had been employed in Italy since early in the century with great success. Venice tended to be, not unreasonably, uncertain of the loyalty of Moreote Greeks and Albanians and whenever possible avoided putting them in critical positions. It was a measure of Venetian desperation that in 1467 some 7000 Albanian, Dalmatian, and Greek soldiers were collected at Nauplion for the war. Ducellier, “Les migrations,” 257.

²⁵ Barbarigo 29 for 25 July 1465: “I spectabili Piero Bua, Alexio Bua, Prothostatora [not a name, but a misunderstood title], Michalli Ralli el grando, Gigni Bua, Michaili Ralli Drimi, Pelegrin Cusichi [Busichi-Bozikē?] con fradeli, Matheo Franzi, Piphani et Corcondillo Clada fradelli.” Ralli (Manuel Rallis), Franzi (Sphrantzes) and Petro Bua were in the first group of archons making submission to Mehmed II. See n16 above. Barbarigo was in the Morea from mid-1465 through mid-1466 as *provveditor*, and senior military supervisor, supposed to act as liason between the Signoria and their *condottiere*, the patron of humanists, Sigismondo Malatesta. See Introduction, n27; Chapter One, n166; Chapter 2, n16 for more information on Barbarigo. Barbarigo, 36, reported the significant information that he had been visited by a delegation of

The brave *ser* Manoli Kladas and Krokondēlos his brother, according to the information I have learned from many leading Italians and Greeks, and from what I have known in the short time I have been here, are indeed the most loyal servants of Your Signoria. They have never made excuse of weariness or of any danger, and they continue to hold the castle of Vordounia, near Mistra, the key to the Manē. They have lost all their relatives in Your Signoria's service, and have sustained every labor and loss in your name.²⁶

This was an introduction for Krokondēlos who was to go to Venice to petition for payment, although it appears he did not make the trip. Barbarigo wrote about the Kladai frequently and with some admiration, such as the time when Manoli went to him with five other *capi* to say that because their territory was suffering so from the destruction of the war, they had made a truce with the Turks in the Outer Manē and that among themselves, they had given over ten of their sons as hostages to ensure the truce.²⁷

The Kladai gave Venice possession of the castle of Vardounia and their land in Outer Manē, and continued to rule from there as governors until the area was taken by the Ottomans.²⁸ The Senato Mar took special notice of the Kladai's gift (and got the names wrong: "spectabilis Pifani Corcondili Clada primarii nobilis Amoree"²⁹), and passed a resolution giving them 200 florins and robes in appreciation for Vardounia. Vardounia was to provide an important provocation for the subsequent revolt.

Krokondēlos remained in the service of the Signoria. In 1476, Petro Bua was given a *provisione* of 300 gold ducats; Petro Frossini, Krokondēlos Kladas, and Giorgio Menaia were given 100, and they were all given *vestes*.³⁰ When the Ottomans came into the

Greeks and Albanians asking to be governed by Venetians, rather than by Greeks or Turks.

²⁶ Barbarigo 33 for 16 August 1465: "I strenui ser (Manoli) Clada, et Crocondilo suo fradelo, . . . et per la information ho havuta da molti principali Italici, et Greci, et per quanto quelli ho conosciuto quel pocho tempo io me trovo qui, re vera sono stati fidelissimi servitori de la Vostra Signoria, ne mai se hano excusato fatica, ne pericolo alchuno, anzi continue conservato el castel de la Vardogna, è apresso el Misistra, e chiave de questo Brazo, in li servitii et da Vostri Signoria li sono manchadi di parenti mori, et ogni fatica sostenuta et dani per nome di quella." Barbarigo later described him as "de la sua persona e valentissimo et animoxo, de la caratada del conte Megara." Barbarigo 41.4-5. This is the closest any contemporary document comes to describing his personality: the Count of Megara, a *condottiere* who shows up here and there in Barbarigo's *dispacci*, appears to have been highly aggressive, and individualistic to a degree not usually tolerated in the military. The word *animoxo* covers a range of meanings, including "bold, brave," and "hostile."

²⁷ Barbarigo was unable to do much for them in the way of pay, but he gave them cloth. Barbarigo 49.20-31; 50.15-29. Other Barbarigo reports: Epifani, and several relatives had earlier been given *provisioni* and nothing had been paid. 34.2-3 for 16 August 1465. Barbarigo had to explain to Manoli and Krokondēlos that the *provisioni* could not be paid; their response--or challenge--was to give the castle of Vardounia to the Signory and then bring in a string of prisoners. (Perhaps the Signoria could be forced into paying.) Barbarigo 21 for 24 August 1465: "Questi hano dato el Castel dela Vordogna ala Celsitudine vostra . . . Clida ha condotto a Corone Turchi 19." Barbarigo 41 for 8 September 1465. The Kladai were made responsible for the castle. Epifani was cited as *podestà* of Vardounia; three weeks later, he reported to Barbarigo that Turks had come through and taken twenty Greeks as hostages. Barbarigo 48 for 19 September 1465. Epifani and *Corcondilus Clada filius* were paid 100 ducats. Barbarigo 60.19 for 29 October 1465. Epifani is said to have been taken with Barbarigo at the defeat at Patras and flayed alive in August 1466. *Ellēnismos*, 270. See Appendix 8.

²⁸ *Archaia Istorika Gegonota tēs Oikogeneias tōn Komētōn Kladaiōn apo ta 1366 mechri 1803* (Athens, 1872) 11.

²⁹ Sathas V, 36-36 for 28 November 1465, and Senato Mar R. 8, f 46v. The motion also refers to four brothers of Kladas who were killed in the war, "ut quatuor ex ipsis fratribus viriliter pugnando a Turcis interfecti fuerunt." A subsequent motion refers again to "Spectabilem Pifani Concordilo Clada" and his nephew Thome, son of one of the brothers who had been killed. Ibid., 33 for 20 December 1465, and R. 8, f 50v.

³⁰ Sathas VII, 14. Senato Mar R 10, f 71. See Barbarigo, 60, for his letter recommending Kladas, Bua, and

Kakovoulia in 1477, Krokondēlos forced them out, and once again put the area under Venetian protection.³¹ Within a month of the issuance of Mehmed's *ahd-name* the Senato had instructed its officials to hand over the surrendered territories and maintain calm.³² With the handover of Manē, which included Vardounia, Kladas and his family went to live in Corone. His discontent must have been well-recognized, and he was not the only one to be disappointed. Venice must have had some concern about the Manē *stratioti* generally, and in September decided to identify and keep a thousand of them on salary and make provision in Constantinople for them to be given lands in the surrendered areas.³³ Shortly after that, the Senato Mar reduced the thousand to eight hundred and named three "*capi*, first among those who constitute our most loyal men," whom they wanted to hire for ten years service in the *terrafirma*: miser Rallis with 200 men, Theodoros Paleologos and his father with 50, and Krokondēlos with 150.³⁴ On 4 September 1480, three *capi*, one of them Krokondēlos, were invested as knights ("fu chavaglieri") in the order of S. Marco and presented the full-length gold robes to which the knighthood entitled them.³⁵

■ Venetian Betrayal

A few days later, Zuam Dario and Halil Bey arrived in Corone where they spent ten days settling the overlordship of various holdings.³⁶ That the Manē was to belong to the Ottomans had never been in question at the diplomatic level: Dario and Halil Bey had gone south to discuss boundary problems, but the Manē was not considered one of those problems, and the castle of Vardounia which the Kladai had given Venice went had been handed over, despite the Kladas understanding (or assumption) of Venetian protection. Since the *ahd-name* twenty months earlier, Turks had been moving into Manē, taking possession of fortresses and timars, and doing a little looting. The presence of Zuam Dario and Kladas in Corone at the same time must have made for an interesting confrontation: the

others for *provisioni*. *Vestes*: robes.

³¹ Rogan, 31.

³² Secreta R. 28, f 150r for 25 February 1478[79].

³³ Sathas VII, #XL of 15 September 1479. Senato Terra R. 8, f61.

³⁴ Sathas VII, #41 of 5 October, & #42 of 19 October 1479. Senato Mar R. 11, f 48-49. It was perhaps this company of 150 which accompanied him into rebellion, though those 1000 *stratioti* remaining in Manē should be kept in mind. Two weeks later, a similar document dropped Krokondēlos' name and added three others.

³⁵ Magno 220.41. There is little surviving information about this award, though it appears to have been given to middle-rank soldiers, and nobles who had given outstanding service. It may not actually have been an active military order. Mallett and Hale, 196-197. Knights were given full-length cloth-of-gold robes lined with red silk. Such a robe can be seen on the man in the center of the bridge, just beside the standard, in Bellini's *Miracle at the Bridge of San Lorenzo*. Brown, *Venetian Narrative Paintings*, Plate XX. In the context of *stratioti* and dress, there is an interesting icon from 1546, belonging to the Istituto Ellēniko in Venice, hanging in S. Nicolò dei Greci. It shows, in the position of donors, two brothers, Iōannēs and Geōrgios Manesēs, *stratioti* in steel helmets, red-trimmed black coats, red leggings and codpieces, red and black stripes on fashionable hanging sleeves and red and black banners. They lead horses with gold-ornamented saddle and trappings. The scenery suggests the Veneto. *Ellēnismos*, 261, for detail.

³⁶ Unlike Nauplion where possession fell neatly on either side of the territorial boundaries, landholdings of people in Methone and Corone were more scattered, with Venetian subjects holding land in Ottoman territory, and Turks holding land in Venetian territory. Four years later, Francesco Bragadin was instructed to identify lands that could be exchanged or given in compensation, to regularize the boundaries. Bragadin 285.20-26.

timing and agreement over the handover at Corone has not been previously noticed and that finality must have precipitated the revolt.³⁷

On the 9th of October, in the light of the full moon, Kladas and his men rode out of Corone and across the mountains for Manē.³⁸ This, at some length, is how it was seen in Venice, as Magno described it from his sources:

While these things were done, and the here-mentioned Mehmed and the Venetians had made the division of their territories, the Venetians, being at peace with the said Mehmed, in order to revise the *stratioti* of the Morea and save the cost of many unneeded men, decided to make the *mostra* of them, retain the competent, and discharge the rest. On 4 September, 3 *capi* of the *stratioti* who had been in the *Brazo de Maina* were knighted by the Prince, and he gave each of them a robe of gold cloth, and they were given provisions in the land of the Morea. But before the said *mostra* was made, one Kladas, Knight, either from Corinth or Corone, who had been *Reis in Xigo* (which in our language means *capo* of *stratioti* in *Brazo de Maina*: note that *Reis* in Turkish is the same in Italian as *capo*; *Xigo* is *Brazo de Maina*), since that area had been returned by the Venetians to the said Mehmed, had returned to Corone together with 16 *stratioti*, Albanians, a band of thieves. Together with their company, they left the city of Corone and went to the *Brazo de Maina* on 9 October, and put the people and peasants who lived there into confusion. He gave them to understand that he had come there with the consent of the Venetian *rettori* of the said city of Corone, that they had paid him and made him *capo*. He killed the timar holders of the area, with the *subaşı*s of Megalo and Manē, 11 Turks in all, and with the men of the said Brazo robbed the castle and tower of Trigafoli and Oitylo, and killed their guards and castellan.³⁹

³⁷ The Kladas uprising should not have been a surprise, though apparently it was. The Senato da Mar knew as early as April 1479 that this kind of thing was a possibility. Sathas VII, 18 for 27 April 1479. Less than a week before the uprising--and perhaps to forestall something like that happening--the Senato Mar was voting to give Kladas a bonus to persuade him to fight for them in Friuli. Sathas VII, 20 for 5 October 1479. Senato Mar R. 11, f 48. Sathas I, 273-274 for 8 January 1480[81]. Secreta R. 29, f 153-154. It is implied here that Zuam Dario met Kladas in Corone.

³⁸ Tradition says that this was long-prepared and that he rode silently out of Corone at night with 1600 *stratioti* under the banner of the double-headed eagle. Ēliopoulos, 18. Sathas, *Ellēnika Anekdotia*, 66. Certainly, by waiting for three weeks after Dario and Halil Bey left Corone, he allowed time to get information to his supporters, and ensured a full moon for night-riding. A proposed Venetian action of 23 January 1480 says Kladas was showing the banner of S. Marco. Sathas, *Anekdotia*, 68-69. The number of 1600 is not credible, given the numbers in *stratiote* bands reported in Minio and Barbarigo, and the numbers mentioned in Magno in relation to the revision of the *condotta*, but Kladas was certainly joined by Maniotes. The Venetians knew there were at least 1000 *stratioti* in the general area. The numbers supporting Kladas at any one time will have varied. Magno (see next note) said there were 16 *stratioti* with him. A modern Greek historian gives him 16,000: Kyriakos N. Stappa, *Ē Lakonia kata tēn Tourkokratian kai Enetokratian, 1460-1821* (Athens, 1993) 18. Minio said, “i ditti Cladioti esser numer 77,” in a report to the Signoria. *Dispacci* f 52r and 190.27. That was the number at the time he worked out a settlement with the flamburar, and included members of both the original Kladas group and the Bua group, but may not be the number in the original uprising.

³⁹ BCMV Codici Cicogna 3529, Annali Veneti de Stefano Magno, ff 82v and Magno 220-221: “Domentre queste cose fusero fatte et che infra ditto Maumet et Venetiani fuse fatto la particion di confini di soi luoghi Veneciani essendo in paxe cun dito Maumet per reformar i stratioti della Morea et minuir la spexa di molti inutili statuendo fo di quelli far la mostra et retegnir i sufficienti, et el resto cassar; et adi 4 settembre per el

There was a great deal more to this report, but what should be noticed is the comparatively small number of Turks in Manē, and Oitylo less than half-way down the peninsula appears to be the southern extent of Ottoman control.⁴⁰ When Theodoros Bua and his men rode on Argos two months later, they found fewer than thirty Turks at hand. This is not to suggest the actual numbers of Turks, but it is evident from Minio and Magno that, at this point, the Ottomans could make only a minimal response: any real action on their part required that they bring in troops. Kladas persuaded “i popoli del ditto Brazzo”--many of whom will have once held land of him--to rebel, probably because, as Magno said, the word was out that he had Venetian backing.⁴¹

The *rettori* of Corone immediately took Krokondēlos’s wife, sons, and “his brother *capi*” into custody, forbade anyone to go to Manē, by land or sea, pronounced the rebels bandits, and put a price of 10,000 ducats on his head.⁴² They sent a citizen with “their open letter to the *università* of the people” to say that Kladas had acted completely without Venetian support, that Manē was being handed over to Süleyman, *sancakbeyi* of the Morea, and that they should be loyal to him. They wrote the Senato, and Nicolò Cocco in Constantinople to make apologies and explanations to Mehmed, who accepted his explanations (“acchetava la sua scusi”). Mehmed sent a letter of complaint, and Cocco offered himself as a hostage for the peace (“se constitui piezo”).⁴³

The usually unreliable mail system became impressively efficient for a while, and the Senato had the news three weeks later, on 1 November. On 4 November, they took first

prencipe fati fu chavaglieri 3 capi di diti stratioti, che erano stadi in el Brazo de Maina et donatoli una vesta de pano doro per uno a quali fo dado provision in la terra della Morea ma avanti ditta mostra fuse fata uno Clada da Coranto sive da Coron kavalier, el qual era stato Reis in Xigo che in lingua nostra e dito capo di stratioti in Brazo de Maina non quello che *Rais* in lengua Turca e dito in Italiana e capo et *Xigo* e Brazo de Maina el qual dapoi per Venetiani fu restituido dito luogo al dito Maumet reduto se havea in Choron insieme con stratioti 16 di nation Albanexe ladri bandisadi cun la sua compagnia se parti dala ditta cittade di Coron et ando in ditto Brazo di Maina adi 9 octubrio et messese a conturbar i homenti et contadini di quel tegnir dandogli a intender esser andadi li del consentimento di rettori venetiani di dita citade de Coron ado che solevo quelli et consuitose capo de essi amazo i timari de quel luogo cun i Subasi di Megalo et Maina in tutto Turchi 11 et cun i homeni del ditto Brazo robo el castello et tore de Trigafoli et del Vitello et amazo i suoi guardiani et el castelan.” *Reis*, Turkish for “head, chief,” is as Magno said, *capo*. Megalo is barely in Manē, being closer to Kalamata than to Kardamyli, and Oitylo, then the capital of Manē, is more than half-way down the western coast of Manē. From Corone to Oitylo is about 120 kilometers or 75 miles: the rebels covered a great deal of territory without substantial opposition.

⁴⁰ At this point, the Turks had not established themselves further south in Manē, and did thereafter seldom and with difficulty. Rogan, 30. A land-holding, horse-riding people could only have found Manē extremely unrewarding, even apart from the notable hostility of the Maniotes whose hostility persisted unmitigated until the *Epanastasis* (unless this, too, is tradition). A story from Manē says that an archon finally agreed to pay the Sultan annually as much gold as could be carried on a sword--Manē’s swords, like the Turkish had wide blades--and only later explained that he had meant the edge of the blade. This edge (and others) found its way into the Greek national anthem, “I know you by the sword’s fierce edge,” and eventually became the “terrible swift sword” of “The Battle Hymn of the Republic.”

⁴¹ Three months later, the Senato referred to him as “Clada stratioto nostro.” *Secreta* R 29, f 153 for 8 January 1480[81]. Also Sathas I, 273.38. Kladioti-related matters were handled by the Senato, being a matter of foreign relations. The Senato Mar, handling internal matters, was not concerned with it. This, of course, refers to what was recorded in the *Secreta* and Senato Mar registers, not what might have been discussed in meetings or unrecorded dispatches.

⁴² *Secreta* R. 29, ff 83r and Magno 221.19-20: “suoi fratelli capi.” Sathas, *Anekdoti*, 66, seems to take this to mean that Kladas’ brother was also interned, but nowhere in the *Secreta*, *dispacchi*, or Magno is that mentioned. Kladas’ wife’s name is unknown, but she is included with him on an inscription in Karitena. See Appendix 8. Apparently no one ever tried to claim the 10,000 ducats.

⁴³ *Secreta* R. 29, f 83r and Magno 221: “loro lettere aperte alla università de popoli.” For Mehmed’s letter, see n44 following.

action on the affair, although they hoped the flamburar would be able to capture Kladas and solve the problem efficiently. The Senato sent letters to the ambassador and the *bailo* in Constantinople, Nicolò Cocho and Battista Gritti; to the *rettori* in Corone, Nicolò Navager and Nicolò Contarini; to the *provveditor* of the fleet, Ieronimo Morosini, and to the Captain General, Victori Soranzo, who was instructed to retake the Manē and give it to Mehmed.⁴⁴ The correspondence kept troops of secretaries busy: each person had copies of all the letters received to date, and copies of the letters sent to the other people involved. If caught, Kladas was to be executed as an example to others, so they would not commit such treason.⁴⁵ Still, the Senato did not appear to realize just how crucial matters might become and, in fact, did not at first use Kladas' name, referring to the "caxo," the incident in Manē.

The "most treacherous and shocking" Krokondēlos ("homenis perfedissimi et scandalosissimi"), now fifty-five years old, harassed the Ottomans in the south, using the mountain routes he had known all his life, aided by Greeks, his former landholders, and the friends and relatives of *stratioti*. Mehmed had learned of the revolt by 5 November, almost as soon as Venice did, and immediately sent an ambassador to Venice to get more information and to advise that he was sending his cavalry after the Kladaioti. He wanted Kladas sent to Constantinople when caught.⁴⁶ The Senato, protecting their authority, wrote and assured him that "the treacherous Kladas, treasonous Greek and rebel" would be executed as a "traditor."⁴⁷

Without consideration of his actions in the context of the revolt, the *provveditor* of the fleet, Morosini had a *mostra* in Methone the first week of October, and then went on to Corone on the 14th, and then to Monemvasia. By early December, he had worked his way up to Nauplion and held a *mostra* there, where he listened to the wrong people, fired the wrong *stratioti*, demoted a number of respected *provisionati*, and generally antagonized everyone, particularly Minio: "He made the *mostra* of the *stratioti*. One Theodoros Bua, *provisionato*, left the city of Nauplion with 60 horse, secretly."⁴⁸ This is where Minio became directly involved in the Kladas affair.

⁴⁴ Secreta R 29, ff 139r -141r for 4 November 1480; Magno 222.7-9. The Senato's letter to Cocco about Mehmed's letter commented: "Una letera dell Signor Turcho . . . el tenor de la quale benche credemo sia in vostra memoria. Sathas, II, 275 for 8 January 1480.

⁴⁵ Secreta R 29, f 154, also Sathas I, #187 for 8 January 1480[81]: "puniatur . . . pro exemplo aliorum abstinendi." and "pauroxo esempio a tuti altri de non cometter simel tradimento"--i.e., "Pour encourager des autres."

⁴⁶ There is a tradition that Mehmed offered to bribe Krokondēlos. Rogan, 30. Within another generation, the Ottomans were hiring bandit groups and using them as a para-military police force. These groups, called *armatoles*, were found all through the Greek and Balkan mountains. When unpaid by the Ottomans, they would move back into banditry, and were called *kleftes*. This tradition lasted into the Greek Civil War and the late 1940s and produced a great treasury of fable and song.

⁴⁷ Secreta R 29, f 154r for 8 January 1480[81]: "el perfido Clada grecho perfido et rebelle."

⁴⁸ Secreta R. 29, f 83r and Magno 222.23-29: "Fato la dita mostra di stratiotti, el parti dala cita de Napoli de Romania uno Theodaro Bua provisionado cun cavalli 60, et incognitamente." Magno gives Bua twice the number of accomplices that Minio does.

■ Theodoros Bua's Revolt

. . . *per la sua mala natura inclinadi a disturbance et scandoli* . . .

In Minio's second *dispaccio*, he had commented that the Albanians were "unhappy with the peace," but he said nothing that indicated an awareness of their sense of betrayal.⁴⁹ For the period between Zuam Dario's visit and the Kladas affair, no *dispacci* survive. Nothing of particular significance seems to have happened in Nauplion between Minio's report on Zuam Dario and the dividing line on 5 September, and the letter of 19 December about the Bua revolt, and there is nothing about the Kladas uprising which appears to have so far been confined to the Manē and Minio had no need to be directly involved.⁵⁰ There is no preparation in the *dispacci* for Theodoros Bua's action:

Among the others, Theodoro Bua who was upset to be deprived of his standing, but mostly because he is a light man of low condition, and has committed other malefactions here and elsewhere (and because of the situation at the time he was tolerated and put up with) he skillfully persuaded other *stratioti*, the greater part of whom had been discharged, and rose on the 15th of the month and eloped with about 30 horses and some Albanian footsoldiers and *zagdari*, rode to Argos and took about 30 Turkish janissaries found in the country where they were working, and killed three, as the *dizdar* or castellan at Argos wrote me, then they left and went toward the Brazo of Manē to join Kladas to attack the Turks.⁵¹ When I learned about this, immediately in the morning I sent out a number of *capi* and *stratioti* to ride across the country and ride after them to try to take them, but they were not able to come across them. I made an announcement and put a price on this Theodoro and company, and made their families submit when I could find them, but the important ones could not be found. From what I learned I judge that other *stratioti* joined the plot of Theodoro Bua and company because they are of the same race and of a nature hostile to quiet, and fond of discord and disruption, similarly the associates of these traitors who fled: I have made every effort to take them, and have gone in person with many citizens and *capi* of the *stratioti* to their camp, and was able to find nothing, because they are stubborn and it is not their way that they should obey me or anyone else. . . . The number of Turks taken at Argos, I have been accurately informed, was not more than 10, of whom 7

⁴⁹ *Dispacci* f 2v and 120.8 for 29 December 1479: "mal contenti per questa pace." The peace settlement had left essentially all of Albania in Ottoman hands: presumably this was a source of their discontent with the peace.

⁵⁰ There seem to have been no formal *dispacci* for that period at all. At the beginning of the *dispaccio* for 19 December, he made reference to writing letters to Methone, Corone, Lepanto, and Constantinople about what had happened with the boundary negotiations with Zuam Dario in September. In that letter, he kept to his usual form and summarized the previous letter before continuing with the important information about Bua's revolt.

⁵¹ Bua and his group had been well-known to the Venetians for a long time. They were part of the defense of Nauplion in 1463.

were taken alive, and 2 killed, and one wounded, although the *dizdar* wrote me that there were 30, as I said above. No other news.⁵²

Bua and his people must have made their move in the afternoon; the janissaries were preparing the ground for the winter planting. At that time of year, darkness came early: the *dizdar* sent a letter to Minio at first light the next morning. Later in the day, the citizens he had sent to investigate brought Minio a correction. Stefano Magno recorded:

He [Morosini] made the *mostra* of the *stratioti*. One Theodore Bua, *provisionato*, left the city of Nauplion with 60 horse, secretly, and went under Argos where he found 30 Turks, and cut three of them to pieces, and took the rest, and went to Manē to the support of Kladas. When Bortolo Minio, *provveditor* in Nauplion learned this, he proclaimed him a bandit and set a price on his head, and gave notice to the ambassador and *bailo*, making his explanations. This by letter from Corone of 29 December.⁵³

Bua was accompanied by an important *provisionato* and *capo*, Mexa Bozikē, to whom he was related.⁵⁴ This was another occasion for prodigious letter-writing. Minio wrote the Signoria, Nicolò Cocco in Constantinople, the Captain-General Vittori Superantio, other *rettori* in the Morea, Süleyman Bey, various cadis and any other Ottoman officials that

⁵² *Dispacci* ff 22v-23r and 147-148 for 19 December 180: "Fra li altri Thodero Bua qual se agrevava esser sta calla dela sua reputation. ma plu tosto per esser homo de lezer et pessima condition. et ha comesso de li altri mesfatti dequi et altrove. et per la condition de i tempi li fo comportadi et tolleradi: cautamente ha seducto alcuni stratioti la mazor parte dequelli sono sta cassi. et levose adi 15 dele instante, et e fuzito con circha cavalli 30 et alcuni pedoni Albanesi et zagdari, corse ad Argos et prese cercha 30 Turchi janizari trovati su la campagna che lavorano: et amazo tre como me ha scritto el gisdar over castellan de Argos: de li se parti et ando verso il brazo de Maina ad unirse con el Clada a i danni de Turchi. Io subito da matino inteso questo caso. feci cavalcar // quanti capi et stratioti se ha possudo trovar in la terri. et corseli driedo per poderli prender. et no li ha possuto zonzer. Feci far proclamation et dado taglia a esso Thodero e compagni et fatto sottometer le fameglie loro quante se ho possudo trovar. che de li bene suo non se trova cossa alcuna. . . . Io intendo et cussi judico che questi altri stratioti faceva la trama de Thodero Bua et compagni. et per esser de una nation et de natura inimicha dela quiete et amicha dele discordie et scandoli . . . Et similmente dele fameglie de quelli traditori che fuzino ho fatto ogni experientia de haverli. Et fui stato in persona con molti cittadini et capi di stratioti per le so catune. e nulla poti trovar. perche lo hanno stoxe. et non fo modo che volesse obedir ne per me ne per altri li feci. . . . Il number de i Turchi presi ad Argos: ison sta informato con verita non esser sta piu cha 10 de qual i 7 furono prexi vivi et do morti et uno ferrito. benche il gisdari ne scrive esser sta 30 como dicho di supra."

⁵³ Magno 222.23-29: "Fatto la detta mostra di Stratiotti, el parti dala città de Napoli de romanìa uno Theodaro Bua, Provisionado, cun cavalli 60, et incognitamente andò sotto la cittade di Argos, dove trovò Turchi 30, et de quali ne taiò à pezi tre, et lo resto prese, e deli andò al dito Brazo de Maina in sussidio del detto Clada. Questo inteso Bortolo Minio, provedator in ditta cittade di Napoli, quello bandisò et da li taia et de ne notitie al ditto ambassador et bailo, facesse sua scusa; questo se ha per lettere da Coron di 29 decembre." Minio learned later that the flamburar had sent an erroneous report, and the cadì of Argos had sent his *protogero* to Constantinople cum "false relation" about what had happened. *Dispacci* 158.11-13 for 26 February 1480[81]. See also Sathas, *Anekdotà*, 68, for Βόρτολης Μίμης.

⁵⁴ *Dispacci* f 31r and 159.24 for 4 March 1481. Both Bua and Bozikē were related to İsmail, voivode of Karitena. Records of *stratioti* show a high rate of intermarriage between Greeks and Albanians in the Morea. The Bozikē (or Busichi, as the Venetians spelled it) appear to be members of the prominent Musachi clan: the name suffered through various transliterations. They are discussed in Alain Ducellier, "Albanais dans les Balkans et en Italie a la fin du Moyen Age: courants migratoires et connivances socio-culturelles," in Cavaciocchi (1993), 244 and n62; also, John V. A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1987) Vol. 2, 415, 513-515.

came to mind, wanting them to have his account of it, and he sent copies of all the letters to the Signoria.⁵⁵

As he said, Minio pronounced Bua a bandit and traitor, made announcements of “Wanted, Dead or Alive,” and sent other *stratioti* off to find Bua and his group--an ineffectual gesture (because they were all Albanians anyway, all related, and all avid for scandal⁵⁶), other than for the fact that it served as a demonstration to Ottoman officials that the *regimen* regarded this as the most severe offence. He wrote the Ottomans another series of letters, in which he protested Venetian friendship and dismay over the raid. Both sides exchanged information. Minio confined Bua’s wife and family in the castello on Akro-Nauplion, the Kladas family in Corone.⁵⁷ Both sides saw the families as useful devices for ending the rebellion. Mehmed wanted them sent to the Flamburar who would send them on to Constantinople as hostages,⁵⁸ but Venice had possession and the Senato sent Piero Trevisan, Minio’s brother-in-law, to get the Kladas family; he arrived in Corone for them on 12 February.⁵⁹ The Signoria wrote Mehmed:

In addition to the sentence publicized against him, our *rettori* have also retained the Kladas family, whom we have directed to be sent to us.⁶⁰

The regimen at Corone was directed to find Kladas and execute him.⁶¹ Zuam Dario was sent back to Constantinople:

The said Zuam was at Corone dealing with his [the Sultan’s] *sipahi*, he will be able to take any resentment on his own shoulders, unless he happens to be *persona non grata* to them.⁶²

Dario’s great investment in peace between the Ottomans and Venice was at risk, as was all the tedium and exhaustion expended trying to work out boundary lines in Greece and

⁵⁵ *Dispacci* ff 22v-23r and 147-148 for 19 December 1480.

⁵⁶ A remark that Minio knew was unfair, but he was under severe provocation. He had already said that there were *zagdari* involved; other sources make it clear that Greeks and Albanians revolted together and were, at least in the south, joined by Italian landholders. Magno 223.5-7. *Dispacci* f 24v and 150.13.

⁵⁷ *Dispacci* ff 23v-24r and 148-149 for 6 February 1480[81]. “In castello de Franchi sotto bona custodia,” f 31v and 159.38. It is not clear whether the family was actually imprisoned or held in some kind of detention. He seems to have confined other *stratioti* families, too, “de mesima et vilissima condition,” and the family of Bua’s aide, Cosma Chelmi. 159.38-39; 162.23. He was clearly unhappy about this responsibility. Kladas family: Magno 221.19-20; 222.41.

⁵⁸ Magno 222.41-43.

⁵⁹ Magno 223.20. Krokondēlos had two young sons, Theodoros, 5, and Manoli who was younger. The family may have been taken to Corfu, rather than to Venice. Sathas, *Anekdotia*, 71. Magno 228.9-12: “La moier fù del ditto Clada et fioli che furono mandati a tuor a Choron adi 9 Marzo fono conduti à Venetia; fò ditto esser sta condotti per la galia Trivisana fin in Histria, ma credo fù fin à Corfu; la qual poi fù mandà in castello di Padoa, dove con bona custodia fù tegnuda.” “Kladas’ wife and children who were to be removed from Corone were brought to Venice on 9 March. They were to have been brought on the galley Trevisan as far as Istria, but I think they went to Corfu. From there they were sent to the castello at Padua, where they were held in custody.” Original letter of instruction: Sathas I, 277 for 8 January 1480.

⁶⁰ Secreta R. 29, f 154 and Sathas I, #187 for 8 January 1480[81]: “Et oltra tal sententia et publication facta contra lui hanno anche i nostri rectori retenuta la fameglia del dicto Clada, la qual havemo ordinato sia mandata a nui.”

⁶¹ Sathas II, #191 for 8 Janary 1480: “si in vestras devenerit mans mori illum facite”-- “if he falls into your hands, kill him.”

⁶² Secreta R. 29, f 153 and Sathas I #186 of 8 January 1480: “. . . usus fuit Coroni idem Joannes erga suum Subassi, capere potuerit aliquam indignationem super persona sua, unde eventum est ne ad eum mittatur persona ingrata.”

Dalmatia. When Mehmed learned of the Bua rebellion, he refused to receive Nicolò Cocco who had to speak his piece to a *paşa* instead:

And the said Nicolò Cocco having the said instruction, and the above-mentioned instruction about the matter in the Manē to explain the flight of the afore-mentioned Theodoros Bua. He was with the *Paşa* and requested an audience for the matter. He was given the reply that the Sultan would not give him an audience.⁶³

However many men had gone with Kladas originally, with the addition of Bua's men, he now had more than 200, plus those who had joined him in the south, and during the war he had been able to keep control of the Manē with half that number.⁶⁴ The Senato passed a resolution authorizing *rettori* in Greece to supply food and 30 ducats a year to the recently discharged and restive *stratioti* still ostensibly under Venetian authority.⁶⁵

Under the stimulus of the Kladas revolt, towns farther up in the Taygetos range and closer to Mistra had rebelled.⁶⁶ Mehmed sent İsmail, voivode of Karitena, down to Kalamata to subdue them, and sent Ali Boumikos, *beylerbeyi* of Roumelia down with troops.⁶⁷ İsmail kept Nicolò Contarini in Corone informed of what he was doing, and asked him not to give shelter to relatives of the rebels.⁶⁸ Events in Corone and Nauplion moved in parallel. Minio worked hard at pacifying the *stratioti* and the various Ottoman officials, and did not write again until February:

I doubt that VS will have to go to war over this, or over the discord. If the traitor Theodoro Bua had not also committed the injury he did on our neighbors of Argos, with the captured Turks, they would not have made such a great case. Even though we live quietly, I do not relax a vigorous watch, suspecting that the flamburar might come up with some reason to make damages here, since he is very harsh and hostile towards the *stratioti* for the aforementioned act, as well as by the insolence of the Albanians who really are of a scandalous nature.⁶⁹

⁶³ Magno 224.15-19: "Et havudo ditto Nicolò Cocho ditto ordene, et l'ordene supraditto dele cose del ditto Brazo di excusar la fuga del antedito Theodaro Bua, quello fu sun i Bassa et rechiese di haver audientia per ditte cose; a quello fuili per quelli respoxo, come el ditto Signor non li volea dar audientia." Mehmed's temper here was calculated: the galleys bringing his tribute of gold ducats were late. Magno 224.19-25. When Nicolò Cocco was re-accredited as ambassador, Mehmed wrote the Senato a generous letter with eloquent words about tranquility. Bombaci, 319 for 30 April 1481.

⁶⁴ Sathas VII, #41 of 5 October 1479.

⁶⁵ Sathas I #194 of 24 February 1480[81]. The fact that the Senate already owed these men back pay for at least a year was not mentioned, and adequate supplies of food and ducats were never sent. But presumably it distracted them for a while.

⁶⁶ Mistra, on a mountain five miles west of Sparta, was the seat of the *sancakbeyi* or Flamburar of the Morea.

⁶⁷ Magno 223.23 confuses Süleyman Paşa with Ali Boumikos, and calls Süleyman "Suleima Alibego Eunucho Belgerbeg ai Romania." Romania here is Roumelia: Roumelia is the European part of the Ottoman Empire, divided administratively into Anatolia and Roumelia, each administered by a *beylerbeyi* with two pennants. The Sultan had three pennants, flamburars one.

⁶⁸ Magno 225.35-44. Sathas, *Anekdotia*, 69.

⁶⁹ *Dispacci* f 24r and 149:1-10 for 6 February 1480[81]: "Ne dubita la VS che per questo habia seguir guerra ne discordia: E se pur quel traditor de Thodero Bua non havesse comesso el danno fece a questi nostri vicini de Argos: de i Turchi prexi: non haria fatto tanto caso: tamen con tutto quello che vivemo quietamente: non resto de star riguardoso: duvitando chel flamburar non faza qualche novita de voler correr afar danno de qui: per esser molto crudo et inimicado contra questi Stratioti. se per latto predicto: como etiam per le insolentie de questi Albanesi: i qual re vera sono de scandalosa natura."

This letter makes it clear that when Minio had interned Bua's wife and children, he had done so with the assistance of other Albanians and relatives who did not support the revolt. However, things were unsettled enough that he thought there should be more Italians among the soldiers at Nauplion.⁷⁰ He reported that the flamburar had gone down to Manē and attacked a tower at the Trikefalē pass where he captured eighteen Albanians and Greeks, and two soldiers.⁷¹ Magno's later version recorded:

On 16 January, he went to Manē to the tower of Trikefalē, and attacked it and took it with the 19 men in it, of whom three were Italians and the rest peasants.⁷²

Minio knew the prisoners had been sent to Constantinople, but Magno's sources said: "Meanwhile, the 19 men from the Brazo who were captured at Trikefali were taken to Mehmed who had them cut to pieces."⁷³ At the pass of Oitylo in Manē, the Kladaïoti encountered Süleyman Bey's troops and killed several hundred of them. The flamburar withdrew to Mistra.⁷⁴

In Albania which had been surrendered under the terms of the *‘ahd-name*, perhaps stimulated by the news from the Morea, there was another rebellion against the Turks which added to the tensions in and between Venice and Constantinople, and also encouraged the cooperation between them:

In Albania, some Albanians set out to raid the countryside to the injury of the Turks, and also of the Venetian territories. They stole many things and caused a lot of damage. Received 25 February.⁷⁵

The Ottomans sent in an army into Albania in response and there was massive Albanian emigration to the mountains of northern Greece and to southern Italy.⁷⁶

When the new flamburar, Ahmed Bey, reached Argos, he sent a voivode to visit Minio, and Minio sent Sir Francis de Nassin to visit him. Gifts and compliments were exchanged, and the voivode gave Minio a letter from "the Sultan addressed to VS written in Latin about the doings of Kladas." The flamburar did not have time then to talk, as he had to go to Manē to put down the rebellion, but he did ask that any rebels taken be delivered to him.⁷⁷ Minio had already announced several times that the Nauplion rebels were banned

⁷⁰ *Dispacci* f 28r and 154.25-26 for 12 February 1480[81]; f 32r and 158.41 for 4 March 1481. He was not given more Italians.

⁷¹ *Dispacci* f 24v and 150.5-13 for 6 February 1480[81]. These were probably residents of Methone and Corone who held land in areas transferred to Ottoman control. When Francesco Bragadino was sent to Methone in 1485, one of his instructions was to arrange for land exchanges between Ottomans and Venetian subjects who had found themselves on the "wrong" side of the territorial boundaries. But this suggests they were supporters of the revolt.

⁷² Magno 221.41; 223.5-7: "Adi 16 zener andò in detto Brazzo de Maina alla tore di Tregafoli, et quelle combatè et prese cun 19 homini che era in quella, dele quali trè erano Italiani et el resto paexani."

⁷³ Magno 223.39-41: "Condotto interim a ditto Maumeth 19 homeni . . . quelli per detto Maumeth sono fatti taiar a pezi." Sathas, *Anekdoti*, 71.

⁷⁴ Magno 223.7-11. Magno says 700 Turks were killed. If so, this suggests the Kladaïoti were by this time a large group. It should be remembered that all of these encounters, attacks, and battles, were between men armed with swords, knives, javelins, and spears. There is no hint that any used firearms, though it is possible a few had them. Firearms were widely used in the Morea in the 1463-78 war. Barbarigo, 39. Mercenaries returned from the Ferrara war in 1484 with them.

⁷⁵ Magno 224.31-33: "In Albania alcuni Albanexi se messeno andar scorrendo el paese a danni de Turchi, et etiam de luoghi de Venetiani, facendo molte larronesi et mali assai; havesse adi 25 fevrer."

⁷⁶ Fine, 602.

⁷⁷ *Dispacci* f 28v and 155.31-32, 36-38 for 19 February 1480[81]: "Signor Turco diretiva a la Vostra Signoria

from the territory, and following Venetian policy, said that if any returned, they would be arrested and executed as “*rebelli et traditori*.” Still, he gave the Signoria the explanation for Theodoros Bua’s rebellion:

The *capi* and the old and proud *stratioti* have been dropped from their prominence, and deprived of their titles as *capi*, and for some a reduction in their provision. Also, some useful *stratioti* have been rejected and other useless ones taken.⁷⁸

It was, very simply, as with the first Krokondēlos, a matter of dignity. Day after day, Minio sent the *stratioti* out to patrol and look for rebels, and day after day he was disappointed. The patrol was a sound idea and a nice gesture for the neighbors, except that the *stratioti* “*esser de un nation*” and daily failed to find rebels.

So that the Sultan’s subjects can come here freely and confidently, and we can live quietly and peacefully with them, I have assigned ten *stratioti* on horse to keep continual guard, and to ride out daily, which arrangement is most pleasing to our neighbors.⁷⁹

Nicolò Contarini in Corone was having the same experience, as Magno wrote, probably quoting Contarini, “because they are all related.”⁸⁰

By early March, Krokondēlos and Bua had split. Ahmed Bey had brought 2,000 *asapi*, infantry, and 1000 *akincis*, horsemen, with him, and after he had made a call-up in the Morea he may have had as many as 6000 horse in all.⁸¹ Ali Boumikos retook the western side of the peninsula while Ahmed Bey and his 6000 pursued Krokondēlos into the Kakovoulia and then into Lower Manē, an effort that strains the imagination, but he was able finally to successfully retake most of the rebel-held territory.⁸²

Krokondēlos, escaping, encountered three galleys at Porto Quaglio that belonged to Ferdinand, King of Naples and Sicily, on their way back from a fact-finding mission to Rhodes and the Dardanelles.⁸³ Coincidentally or not, on board one of the galleys was a

scripta in latin per el fatto del Clada.” Most correspondence between Venice and Mehmed II was in Greek. Magno 223:24-38.

⁷⁸ *Dispacci* f 29r and 156. 2-3: “i capi et Stratioti vecchi et suffitienti sono sta calladi dele suo prminentie. et cassi da capi. et ad alguni minuite le suo provision. etiam alcuni Stratioti uteli refudadi et tolti altri inutili.”

⁷⁹ *Dispacci* f 31r and 159.6-9: “et acciò che li subditi del Signor Turco potranno vegnir de qui liberamente et cum sincerità et con loro possiamo viver quieti et pacificamente, ho deputado cavalli 10 de Stratioti i qual fa la guarda continuamente et mudasse ogni giorno, la qual provision piace molto a questi nostri vicini.” This is a great change from his attitude toward the Turks when he first arrived, and set ten guards to keep an eye on them when in Nauplion.

⁸⁰ Magno 226.12-18: “per esser tutti parenti.”

⁸¹ Magno 226.19-33. *Asapi*, from *azab*, foot soldiers; *akinci*, light cavalry. Much of the destruction reported from Ottoman armies was the result of these large companies of cavalry who had to travel along a broad front to obtain enough fodder and water for their mounts. Magno, 227.39-44, says that they rode from Corinth to Manē in thirty hours, arriving at dawn. In the early 19th century, William Gell kept notes on routes and times in the Morea. He travelled at a leisurely pace, but adding together his times over various routes suggests how Ahmed Bey did it. Gell, 234-235 and map of the Morea. Barbarigo, 20, reports a night ride from Kalamata to Karitena in 12 hours.

⁸² Magno 224.40-43. Rogan, 31.

⁸³ Kladas later went with Ferrando’s troops to fight in Albania. See Appendix 8. Despite the fact that there is 200 years of documentation of Greek identity, Kladas’ purported Albanian identity is a problem. Greek historians appear to fear an Albanian identity, perhaps because Kladas was allied with Albanians in the Morea and fought for them in Albania, or because of a misreading of an awkward passage in Magno (229, especially line 14), and go to some lengths to blur an Albanian identity into Epirote, which Greeks can accept, ignoring the fact that Manuel II put Epiros under the rule of the Albanian Spatas. Whatever the distinction between Albania and Epiros in the 15th century, it is a matter of extreme sensitivity in the 20th, much aggravated by Balkan events of the 1990s. Ēliopoulos and the *Lexicon* both say that the Kladas family was Epirote, and had

Zuane Franceso Zanco of Venice, his “sworn brother” (“fratello zurado”). The oarsmen from the galleys joined Krokondēlos in an attack on the Turks, but it was unsuccessful, and on 7 April, Krokondēlos escaped with them to Naples.⁸⁴ Other rebels who tried to escape by ship were wrecked and drowned. Ahmed took hostages, one son from each family, from the households who had been in rebellion, and gave safe-conducts and formal pardons to the rebels.⁸⁵

■ Banditry

The rebellion was effectively over. Most of those who had left with Bua had returned to Nauplion and asked to be allowed in the territory. Minio kept wanting them arrested, and called in all the *capi* in groups of “do et tre” to persuade them to obey--a useless effort.⁸⁶ Mexa Bozikē took refuge up on Mt. Taygetos, while Bua and some of his men went to his cousin İsmail, voivode of Karitena, who wrote Ahmed Paşa for pardon.⁸⁷ Ahmed pardoned Bua and gave him a safe-conduct. At the same time, Bua wrote to Nicolò Contarini, *provveditor* of Corone, and asked to come back into the service of S. Marco. Ahmed Bey wrote Contarini on his own, asking him to take Bua and his companions back into service. Contarini, a strict constructionist, missed the opportunity to get credit for making peace in the Morea, for he wrote Ahmed that he could not do so, and when Bua and Cosmo Chelmi, arrived in Corone, Contarini had them arrested and sent to the *podestà* of Monemvasia for holding. Another *capo*, Geta Renesi, who had gone into rebellion also wrote Contarini for forgiveness for himself and his followers, but Contarini kept to his position. Minio wrote:

May it please Your Signory to answer me and tell me what to do with them.

Theodora Bua and another *stratiote* named Cosmo Chelmi, whose family I

come to Laconia in the 14th century. Sathas, *Ellēnika Anekdotia*, 65, gives Epiros. Ēliopoulos, in fact, is so adverse to the idea of Albania that he refers to it as “Illyria.” Ēliopoulos relies heavily on “tradition.” He and Dora Ēliopoulos Rogan, *Mani: History and Monuments* (Athens, 1973) are related, and have shared each other’s material; both draw largely from Sathas, *Anekdotia* which may have misread Magno. Patrick Leigh Fermor, *Mani: Travels in the Southern Peloponnese* (London, 1958) 47, says Kladas was Epirote. Venetian sources several times identified Kladas as “Grecho” and as “Concordilum Cladam rebellem nostrum.” *Secreta*, R. 29, f 158v-159r. Sultan Mehmed II also considered him Greek: “uno nomine Clada grecho.” *Liber Graecus*, f 14v which is printed in Appendix 5. This is not the place for the history of Albania and Epiros, and Balkan borders have always been highly problematic, but after the Albanian revolt against Nikeforos II, Despot of Epiros, most of Epiros and the Balkans was controlled by various Albanian family groups or tribes. There was then another century of constant warfare, between groups, and between them and non-Albanians, as well as steady migrations within the Balkans, emigrations west to Italy and south in Greece, epidemics, and invasions. Fine, II, 414-417. Alain Ducellier, Bernard Doumerc, Brünhilde Imhaus, and Jean de Miceli, *Le chemins d l’exile: bouleversements de l’est Européen et migrations vers l’ouest à la fin du moyen âge* (Paris, 1992) 240-241. As this is written, the NATO bombing of Kosovo on behalf of ethnic Albanians has produced an emigration of at least another 700,000 Albanians.

⁸⁴ Magno 226, 228. Tradition says that this, again, was in the dead of night and some 500 followers escaped with him. Sathas, *Anekdotia*, 70-71. Rogan, 32. *Dispacci* 171.9-10 for 8 October 1481 comments about his escape.

⁸⁵ Magno 227.7-11, 37-44-228.8: “per hostasi uno fiolo per fameglia,” “et marndar li alcuni puti che loro li havea promesso per ostasi.” The precise sequence of events and actions of individual officials is not clear: there are a number of differences between Minio and Magno, but the Kladas revolt lasted from 9 October until Kladas’ escape on 7 April. Ahmed Bey’s lenience was repaid by further attacks from the rebels.

⁸⁶ *Dispacci* f 31v and 159.27-28 for 4 March 1481.

⁸⁷ Barbarigo 84.22 wrote about “Cucamusa Bua Turco zerman cusin deli spectabeli Piero e Ghini Bua.”

also hold here, have been taken and are held in irons in Monemvasia. Mexi Busichi fled from the Brazzo di Maina and went to the mountains.⁸⁸

They were supposed to have been hanged, according to the original proclamations, but too many of Bua's relatives were *capi* in too many trigger-points in Greece, the Ionian Islands, and Albania, and the Morea was too flammable. That was when word came of Mehmed's death. Minio and the flamburar exchanged reassuring messages.

Given the number of *stratioti* in active rebellion, the *stratioti* preemption of signorial lands in Nauplion territory and their refusal to pay taxes (because they had not been paid their wages) might be seen as a quieter, gentler form of revolt. But Minio wrote a long letter about the land and taxes that shows how revolt had become dissipated in banditry and brigandage.⁸⁹ He was trapped by the situation and any efforts he might take that would succeed in controlling the bandits could just as easily go to encourage them:

I have needed to use them to get these assassins who on the public road and in the territory and jurisdiction of this terra, attack and murder, and most cruelly kill your subjects living here. I gave them more clubs and swords, and paid them money and clothing.⁹⁰

These were, for the most part, *stratioti* who had gone with Bua and returned to the territory from which they were attacking nearby Turks and travelers. The good relations Minio had established had gone very bad, the *stratioti* were quarreling among themselves, and the *capi* were refusing to arrest anyone. Again, Contarini in Corone was reporting the same thing, but with one distinction which can be attributed to his adamant stance: the bandits in the south, about fifty of them, were going into Corone territory and raiding Venetian property. At Nauplion, Minio was well-enough regarded by the *stratioti* that the bandits kept their activities outside the territorial limits though they were sheltering within it.⁹¹

⁸⁸ *Dispacci* f 33r and 162.19-25 for 30 April 1481: "Piagia a V. S. rispondermi et comandarme quanto li piace se faza de queste. Thodero Bua con uno altro stratioto nominato Cosma Chelmi le fameglie di qual etiam tegno dequi sono sta prexi et tenuti in ferri in Malvasia. et Mexa Busichi fuizi dal Brazzo de Mayna e va errando per montagne." As Ottoman pressure increased in Manē, the Kladaioti moved up into Mt. Taygetos. Magno, 228.13-16 says that Trevisan went to Monemvasia, collected Bua and Chelmi, and took them to Venice, arriving there on 18 April. It is interesting to find Minio using the phrase, "to the mountains." A very similar phrase, στὸ βουνό, "to the mountain," has long been used as a reference for escape, elopement, and rebellion. When speaking of the Civil War of 1944-1948, a Greek will still say of someone who fought for the Communists, "He (she) went to the mountain." There is, of course, an extensive and somewhat glamorizing literature on the relationship of mountains to rebellion, including Eric Hobsbawm's *Bandits* (New York, 1969); and Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, which considers bandits as Robin Hoods, and do not take into account the pathologies encouraged by advanced explosives technology.

⁸⁹ This was by no means the beginning of banditry in the Morea. Venetian records have numerous reports of attacks on Venetian *terre* made by Albanians and Greeks from the Despot's lands. Régestes II, 1766 for 1420; 2103, 2107 for 1428. However, it does appear to be the beginning of the formal organized bands of related bandits (which is only to be expected when they came from the *stratioti*) as this period coincides with the use of firearms, accelerated by the issuance of such weapons to the *stratioti* taken for Ferrara. Hobsbawm and other call them "social bandits," referring to the family relationships, regarding them as a development of violence within the culture, rather than as a criminal element.

⁹⁰ *Dispacci* f 37v and 168.32-35 for 16 June 1481: "habiando bisogno da adoperarli in far prender alcuni assassini i qual sopra la strada pubblica sotto el territorio et jurisdiction de questa terra assaltano et assassino, et amazono crudelissimamente alcuni vostri subditi habitanti in questa, datoli plusor botte et spade, et tolliti i danari et robe suo."

⁹¹ *Dispacci* f 37 and 168.25-44 for 16 June 1481. Magno 227.12-22. These accounts of banditry violence are almost the only reports available for Nauplion on the issue of violence: no court records survive for Nauplion

The Nauplion bandits were organized into a band of about sixty, based in a forest to the south. Minio called the *capi* to a meeting and spoke firmly:

I commanded them, under pain of disgrace by VS, that they should ride out with the *stratioti* and go get the said malefactors, and bring them to my forces. The *capi* rode out and made a show of wanting to go get them just like they did a month go, and but they sent men up ahead to warn the said malefactors, and came back to me saying they could not find them.⁹²

Minio was terribly frustrated and the four *dispacci* he wrote, or dictated, to the Signoria on 8 October require both sides of each of five folios. He had sent the *capi* out again, “et non cum effectu.” It was not enough that Ahmed Bey, the flamburar with whom he had such a good relationship, was writing him and complaining about the Nauplion bandits. It was not enough that people from the Morea bringing food to sell in Nauplion and Naupliots trying to go to the Morea were indiscriminately attacked, and that Nauplion was short of food supplies.⁹³ Insult was added to injury:

Nevertheless, the said rebels continue to do wrong and worse, without respect or fear for anything. They come up to the gate at night, call the guards, and use arrogant and abusive words against me, and against the honor of VS. They were so bold, that one day, when I was sitting in the loggia with many citizens, they came to the coast, about a mile away, and stood on a hill, and showed themselves publicly. I saw them, as did all the others, and gave orders, with severe penalties, to the *capi* and *provisionati* to ride out and go get them. They rode out with many *stratioti*, and as they went out the land gate, they waved their bare swords signaling the malefactors that they should flee, and they did, and they went on one road, and those went around by another.⁹⁴

He was trying to deal with the pre-empted lands and thought that rehiring some of the *stratioti* who had been fired would help. He forwarded to the Signoria a letter of complaint from the *subaşı* of Corinth.

In a second letter the same day, Minio added the information that the Kladaioti were collecting tribute from various *catune* and Turkish landholders “to not plunder them” (“per

as they do for Crete. Santschi found a high level of violence in Cretan records, though primarily within the same social group--within families, between Greeks, between slaves--with doctors required to report injuries beyond a certain level. Elisabeth Santschi, “Médecine et justice en Crète vénitienne au XIV^e siècle,” *Thesaurismata* 8 (1971) especially 21, 36-37. Again, Minio does not report problems that are dealt with adequately in Nauplion, but the Nauplion appeal answered by the Signoria in 1485 does show soldiers abusing civilians and the appeal in 1445 reports patrician violence against Greeks. Sathas IV, 192-193 and 189.

⁹² *Dispacci* f 39r and 171.17-21 for 8 October 1481: “a i qual comandai sotto pena de la desgratia de L V.S. dovesseno cavalcar con i stratioti et andar aprender i detti malfactori et apresenterli a le mie forze i qual capi cavalcorono et mostrono devoler andar a cercar et prenderli. et tamen mandono uno messo avanti, et fero a saper a i ditti malfattori:et tornati da mi disseno non haver possuto trovarli.”

⁹³ *Dispacci* f 39v and 171.40-172.14 for 8 October 1481.

⁹⁴ *Dispacci* f 39 and 171.27-37 for 8 October 1481: “E pur perseverando i ditti Rebelli al mal far et pezo senza respeto ne tema alcuna vegnanda in fin a le porte de notte chimando la guarda et usando parole superbe et contumeliose contra de me et contra l'onore de la V.a S.a. hebeno etiam ardimento che uno giorno sedendo io inloza con molti cittadini veneno arente La terra, circha uno miglio et stetenno sopra una collina mostrandosi pubblicamente:et vedendoli io con tutti altri feci comandamento. cum strette pene a i capi et provisionati dovesseno cavalcar et andar a prenderli.i qual cavalcarono con molti stratioti et come uscino fuori deleporte dela terra fecero dimostration con le spade nude fazando atto a i malfattori che dovesseno fuzir et cussi feceno et andarono loro per una via et costor tornati perunaltra.” The hill was probably the one now known as Profitias Elias.

non li corsezar”).⁹⁵ He was apparently trying to convince himself and the Signoria that all the trouble had been caused because the Signoria had yet to do something about Theodoros Bua who was, after six months, still in irons at Monemvasia. That nothing had yet been decided about him suggests only that here, as with so many other problems, the Signoria was unmoved by appeals from *rettori* on the scene and could not think of a workable solution. “I can promise you,” wrote Minio who had himself not yet been forced into a decision:

If he had been captured in my hand, I would have hanged him immediately, without the slightest hesitation, and that would serve to put fear into the rest of his company and make them abstain from such behavior.

He was angry here, frustrated, and he perhaps blunted the full disciplinary effect of his remarks by his chronic sense of justice which appears in the next sentence:

I hold here in prison two poor *stratioti* who were in the Manē with Theodore Bua, and seeing that he, who was the principal author of this evil, is safe and sound and unpunished, on that account I am unwilling to punish these poor simpletons, who were led by Theodoro Bua like sheep. I wrote about this earlier but I have not had any reply.⁹⁶

Although Minio had earlier announced that the rebels would be executed, and despite his frustrated efforts to have the bandits brought in, he was unwilling to exact what could only be an unjust penalty.

It was a bad week for him: the next day he learned that Antonio Marinato, and sixteen men and the *maran*, had been taken by pirates. The whole month, in fact, was a bad month. The Kladaïoti had lately been seen visiting *catune* where they were welcomed and supplied with food. A local *subaşı*, Sinan Bey, had taken a troop of 150 horsemen, double the number of the bandits, and gone to arrest them.

The *stratioti*, with the assistance of the Albanians, in the camp routed and crushed the said Sinan Bey with his company. There were about 95 Turks dead, and Sinan Bey was taken alive with 12 other leading Turks. Later, the *stratioti* hacked them and Sinan Bey to pieces.⁹⁷

Magno reported this deplorable event, “questo inteso Bartolomeo Minio provedador della cittadi de Napoli,” and combined it with another, increased the number of casualties to two sets of 500 and 160 “of the flower of the Morea” (“dei fiori de Morea”), and reported that

⁹⁵ *Dispacci* f 41v and 175.20 for 8 October 1481.

⁹⁶ *Dispacci* f 41v and 175 for 8 October 1481: “che sel fusse capita in le mie man: immediate senza alcun rispetto lharia fatto impiccar. et seria sta rason de dar terror a questi altri suo compagni de abstenirse de tanto inconveniente. Io tegno de qui in prexon do poveri stratioti i qual e sta nel Brazo con esso Thodero Bua. Et vedendo che lui chel fo el principal auctor de questo mal. Se tien salvo et illeso senza punition: Et pero fazo constitution de punir questi poveri simplici: il qual como animal sono sta conducti daldito Thodero Bua. de i qual altre volte scripsi . . . et riposta non hoavuto.” Minio was capable of administering extreme punishment if the situation and law required. Sanudo V, 511, 536. Magno 228.13-16, says that Piero Trevisan had taken Bua and his companion to Venice, and had arrived there on 18 April. This is not reflected in the *dispacci*, which is strange as Minio seems always aware of Trevisan’s trips.

⁹⁷ *Dispacci* f 45r and 180 for 8 November 1481: “I qual Stratioti con el favor de albanesi dele dicte catune hano Rotto et fracassado ditto Synabei con la sua compagnia: morti circa 95 turchi et prexo dicto Synabei vivo et altri XII Turchi principali: i qual da poi con esso Synabei furono tagliati a pezzi da i ditti Stratioti.” This vignette makes a distinction between *stratioti*-bandit Albanians, and farming-herding Albanians. Barbarigo, 84, reports a similar incident where Greek and Albanian *stratioti* “taiato a pezi” a Cacamusa Bua, a local Ottoman ruler who was a “zerman cusin” of Piero Bua.

the *stratioti* had not only acquired 60,000 ducats worth of loot out of the effort but that they had managed to sell the *subaşı*'s head at Corinth.⁹⁸ He also recorded information, or gossip, Minio may not have known at the time:

These *stratioti* have sent secretly to ask aid from the Signoria. They offer to throw the Turks out of the Morea and make submission.⁹⁹

Minio was increasingly frustrated, nearly desperate, his voice rising and cracking as he dictated:

I have given the strictest orders over and over, orally and in writing, to the *capi* and *provisionati*, that they must ride after and take the said malefactors and bring them to my forces, or kill them, or at least run them out of the territory. But, there should be some punishment given to the instigator and leading *capo* of this band, Theodoros Bua, who has been held for a long time now in irons in Monemvasia. If the instigator and leader is not punished, the rest of the inferiors in his company will keep doing bad and worse.¹⁰⁰

Ahmed Bey went to Constantinople to discuss how to handle the Kladaïoti bandits. İsmail, voivode of Karintena, who was governing in Ahmed's absence, made a call-up in the Morea and attacked and routed the camp.¹⁰¹ Minio, concerned lest the families from the *catuna* come to Nauplion's territory and more troubles between him and the Ottomans ensue, forbade anyone to receive and shelter them. The bad month turned into a bad winter and Nauplion found itself besieged on land by the Kladaïoti and from the sea by the pirates ("per modo che questo luogo se po reputar assediato da mar, et . . . da l'altra parte è assediato pur da terra") who were, of course, two aspects of the same problem.¹⁰²

The course of the Kladaïoti illuminates the real limitations of Venetian and Ottoman authority and demonstrated to what extent authority was dependent on cooperation. It is evident that many Greeks and Albanians valued Venetian or Ottoman rule for what stability they could offer, but that stability was little in the face of so much violence, and violence that could so often work to the advantage of many. At Corone, Kladaïoti had raided the mills, stolen the grain, and taken off animals. Near Nauplion, the Kladaïoti were up to "cavalli circa 140, et 300 pedoni," from the 60 of two months earlier. Turkish landowners were buying from them what had been stolen from other Turks, and possibly also from Greeks who held land under the Sultan:

⁹⁸ Venetian accounts from 1416 show distress at the Albanians bringing to sell at Methone and Corone loot acquired in the Despotate. Ducellier, "Les chemins," 112. British and American military advisors in Greece at the time of the Civil War, 'Ο 'Εμφύλιος Πόλεμος, "the war between brothers") were shocked at decapitations by guerillas on opposing sides. See *By Fire and Axe: The Communist Party and the Civil War in Greece, 1944-1949*, Evangelos Averoff-Tossizza. S. A. Riggs, translator (New Rochelle, NY, 1978), photograph, page 393.

⁹⁹ Magno 231.28-37: "Questi Stratiotti haver mandà a dimandar sussidio alla Signoria secretamente, offerendosi de scasar Turchi della Morea et quella sottomerterne."

¹⁰⁰ *Dispacci* f 45 and 181.2-23 for 8 November 1481: "Ho fatto piu et piu comandamenti cum pene strettissime et protesti a bocca et in scriptis a questi capi di Stratioti et provisionati che dovesseno cavalcar et andar a prender i ditti malfattori et Rebeli: et apresentarli a le mie forze over amazarli o almeno cazarli dal territorio . . . sel fosse sta fatto punition contro lautor et principal capo de questa setta, che fo Thodero Bua el qual se tien za gran tempo in ferri in Malvasia . . . ma non essendo lui punido che e lautor et capo i altri inferiori suo compagni va fazando ogni mal et pezo."

¹⁰¹ *Dispacci* f 45r and 180.34-41 for 8 November 1481.

¹⁰² *Dispacci* f 46v and 182.44-183.3 for 8 November 1481.

The Turks themselves buy from them. The *sipahi* holding Corinth bought animals [sheep and goats] brought from outside amounting to 400 head, at 4 *aspri* each. Here, because of my prohibition and strictness, they cannot bring in or sell any.¹⁰³

Minio was still afraid that the flamburar, who had just returned from Constantinople, would attack Nauplion territory. He wrote Ahmed Bey and the voivode and various *subaşı*s, again making his apologies for the Kladaïoti, and saying that “they are the lords of the countryside” (“che sono signori de la campagna”) and should do something about the situation themselves. Ahmed Bey had brought 600 horsemen with him and intended to ride through Ottoman territory, and that of Nauplion, to find the bandits. Minio agreed to the ride-through, but sent word that lawful residents and their animals should take shelter inside fortresses until the horsemen had gone, and he set out extra guards and spies.¹⁰⁴

■ A Negotiated Settlement

. . . cum quelle più humane et dolce parole . . .

A month later, everything changed again as far as the Kladaïoti rebels were concerned. İsmail, relative of the Bozikēs and Buas, had persuaded Mexa Bozikēs to come back from the mountain and rejoin his company. İsmail and another *subaşı* to whom he was related had both written letters to Mexa’s brothers, Piero and Duma (both, incidentally, knights of S. Marco), and put those letters in Minio’s hand (copies of which Minio sent to the Signoria).¹⁰⁵

Ahmed Bey and İsmail met Minio at Tiryns, and after reviewing the course of the Kladas affair, they discussed the matter of the massacre of Sinan Bey and his company at the *catuna*. Sultan Bayezid wanted this incident clarified: Ahmed Bey had thought there were 30 men involved, and the *dizdar* of Corinth had written that there were 300. Minio made a strong point of the fact that, regardless of how many people were involved, the men and *catuna* were all Ottoman subjects, not Venetian.

About the death of Sinan Bey: the flamburar revealed that he was quite satisfied, because he was a man of a bad sort, a catif Christian and a worse Turk, and he deserved such a death.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ *Dispacci* f 49v and 187.11-14 for 16 January 1481[82]: “. . . e li Turchi proprii compra di quelle: chel subassi proprio da Corantho compro animali menudi capi 400 condutte de fuore ad aspri 4 luno. per o che dequi per le prohibition et stretezze per mi fatte non se pol condur ne vender cossa alcuna.” This activity on the part of the bandits could be seen within the context of institutionalized brigandage, or what is sometimes called a “plunder economy,” in which mountain people, not having adequate sources of food and merchandise, plunder lowlanders and merchants. However, too little is known about the groups involved in this case. Fine 416-417, 539.

¹⁰⁴ *Dispacci* f 50r and 187.36-44 for 17 January 1481[82].

¹⁰⁵ This and the following section is taken from the long *dispaccio* of 15 February 1481[82], *Dispacci* ff 49r-52v and 188-191. Magno 226.4.

¹⁰⁶ *Dispacci* f 51r and 189.9-11 for 15 February 1481[82]: “A questa parte de la morte de Synanbei esso flamburar expose haver habuto piacere assai per esser sta homo de mala sorta chel fo cativo christian et pezo Turco et chel meritava tal morte.”

After that frank and robust expression of principle, Ahmed Bey asked to talk with more privacy. They walked away from their entourages: Ahmed with the voivode Ismail and Minio with his *cancellier*. Ahmed said that, for his part, he wanted to settle this thing quietly, and he asked Minio to pardon the Kladaioti and let them back in the territory.¹⁰⁷ He had already pardoned them himself and would write to the Porte explaining his action to the Sultan, and explain the Venetian side.

Minio was caught unprepared and could only say that he did not have the authority to pardon men who had rebelled against the Signoria and ruptured the peace with the Sultan. Ahmed Bey persisted, or maybe the persistence was mostly from Ismail who was interpreting:

But he repeated [his request] and asked if I would agree to this. He confirmed this to me in a formal statement: that he who had been offended by the injuries committed in the Ottoman territory, and by the murder of his Turks, had pardoned these malefactors, the Kladaioti, and remitted all their offenses, and that if I refused to pardon them, VS and I could be sure that they would continue to do wrong and worse. So I came around at his great insistence and persuasion.¹⁰⁸

They left it to Ismail to talk to his relatives, the Bozikē brothers, and to Sogan Caratolla and Marin Climendi, *cavalieri*, who were of Kladas' rank and related to the main rebels.¹⁰⁹ Caratolla and Climendi immediately pledged themselves as surety for peace on behalf of the Bozikē and Bua clans, and asked for three days in which to talk to them. They came back after three days, and said that the principals--Mexa Bozikē, Ilia Sagan, and Casnessi Climendi--were willing to give their assurances.

Minio then sent the nameless *cancellier* and two citizens to meet with the principals, and in front of the *capi* and leading rebels, an agreement was made which the *cancellier* put into writing. The principals offered themselves as surety for the whole company, and they swore oaths "per sacramento" to keep the peace, at least until a response came from Venice. Duma Bozikē trusted Minio and Ahmed Bey enough to carry a copy of the agreement and letter from Minio to Ahmed who had gone to Chlemoutsis in the extreme northwest of the Morea.

Ahmed's response was a warm and appreciative letter to Minio, and numerous safe-conducts for the Kladaioti, pardoning all their offenses against the Ottoman lands and subjects--and saying that they could never ask anything else of him. Minio sent copies of the letter and safe-conduct to the Signoria, and wrote his own insistent letter, almost Biblical in emphasis, reminding them that the Ottomans had been the ones injured by the Kladaioti and yet they had taken the initiative in peace-making.

There were, he said, seventy-seven Kladaioti in all, good men who were good at horse, and it would be a shame to lose the service of these outstanding and valiant men

¹⁰⁷ They are here speaking of the rebels, and not of the bandits, all of whom Minio calls "Kladaioti."

¹⁰⁸ *Dispacci* f 159r and 189.23-29 for 15 February 1481[82]. "Epur lui replicava et pregava me volesse assentir a questo: azonzandome queste parole formalmente. che se lui che ira loffeso per li danni commessi nel paexe del suo S.r, e per la uccision de i suo Turchi perdonava a questi malfatori Cladioti: et remetteva a quelli ogni offesa. et danno. Recusando io de volerli perdonar: pareria che la V.S. et io fossimo contenti che questi vadano perserverando a far mal et pezo. Unde vedendo io la sua grande instantia et le parole effice per lui."

¹⁰⁹ This document provides an early source for a number of traditions considered to belong to Manē, including αὐτοδικία, personal rendering of justice and defense of family honor; ψυξαδερφοσύνη, mutual pardon; and the ξεβγαλτής, the "honorable man" trusted by both sides.

when Venice had such need of them. Ferrando of Naples (who had rescued Kladas) and Leonardo Tocco of Sta. Maura had offered to hire them, but the Kladaïoti insisted they wanted to live and die under the Signoria's shade ("deliberà de viver et morir sotto ombra") because they had fought for her for a long time. Minio respectfully, but firmly, recommended that the Signoria not only pardon, but take them back into service.¹¹⁰

Minio continued his letter with a profile of four *capi*. Minio's explanation concerns these specific individuals and not Kladas, but even so, the consistent pattern of disregard, disloyalty and insult demonstrated by Venetian policy-makers toward subject non-Venetians is as evident here as it was with Kladas. Minio not only made their rebellion completely understandable, but this letter was the first time he had written openly about the real violence committed by the *provveditor* of the fleet, Ieronimo Morosini, when he revised the *condutte*:

Of the main leaders, one is Mexa Bozikē, an impressive man and personally more valiant than his other Bozikē brother, who, because of the revision of the contract made by the *provveditor miser* Ieronimo Morosini, was degraded and enrolled as a simple *stradiote*: this was the cause of his desperation and what made him act as he did. He deserves to be returned to his situation and position, as do his brothers, Piero, Duma, and Zorzi Bozikē.¹¹¹

The second, who is Elia Sagan, called Cambites,¹¹² who was head of *stratioti*, a *provisionato*, and from the old *stratioti* of this territory, and his brother who was also *capo* of *provisionati*, and his other relatives have died in the service of VS. The said Miser Ieronimo, not only discharged him as *capo* and *provisionato* and reduced him to a simple *stradiote*, but had him bastinadoed. He likewise deserves to be returned to his previous rank of *capo* and *provisionato*. The third, who is Casnessi Climendi, an able and valiant man personally, deserves to be made *provisionato*.¹¹³

There is also Vreto Maxi, who was a *provisionato* and by the said revision was reduced to a simple *stradiote*, and he similarly deserves to be

¹¹⁰ *Dispacci* f 50v and 190.31-39 for 15 February 1481.

¹¹¹ Magno (233.42-44) reports the safe-conduct passes ("salvo condotto") and that Minio had been persuaded by Ahmed Bey ("come a persuasion de Achmat Sanchaco della Morea"). The Bozikē brothers had been in Venetian pay since at least 1465. Piero and Zorzi Bozikē had been commended by the Signory in December 1465. Sathas V, 32. Piero was honored by Venice for valor at Zakythinos. Sathas VII, 22 for 11 January 1479[80]. Senato Mar R. 11, f 56. Piero was commended again in July 1483 after Minio arrived back in Venice and made his report, and given a pension of 8 ducats a month. Sathas VII #64. This was an action Venice soon came to regret. See below. In 1503, the Senato Mar noted that Vreto and Zorzi Bozikē had been "cruselissimamenti ambi doi tagliati a pezi." Senato Mar R. 16, f 11v.

¹¹² Marios Philippides, Ph.D., of the University of Massachusetts/Amherst, tells me that "Cambites" is a name still used today, and is a vulgar Greek form of "pediates," or inhabitant of a valley (as opposed to the mountains). So if the other *capi* were mounted Albanians and from the mountains, as their names suggest, "Cambites" was a kind of ridicule of a farm boy.

¹¹³ Clementi's descendants continued to serve the Signoria: "cum sit che tuti i suo progenitori sempre siano fidelissimi" and "morti cum la spada in mano." Lecha Clementi, "imitando le vestigie de i suo progenetori," after 20 years of service was taken by Turks and sold into slavery for a while. His brother Dominico and another unnamed brother were killed in Apulia. Sathas VII, 88-89 for March 1508. Senato Mar R 11, f 41. The variation in the wording of many of these commendations and decisions appears to be a result of their having been taken from paperwork provided by different *stato mar* officials and commanding officers. Stini Clementi was a knight and led 73 horsemen at Nauplion in 1525. *Relationes*, 244.

restored to his position. Recognizing the temper of the times, I have changed, asking that V.E. will please send me a response as quickly as possible, because it is important.¹¹⁴

After the letter was folded and sealed, Minio added a note on the outside:

I commend to V.Ex. the bearer of this letter, Martin Lopessi of the Kladaioti, their elected messenger, requesting that you will please give them a swift decision.¹¹⁵

The Senato Mar read what Minio wrote and was persuaded.

There are come to our presence some from our most loyal *stratioti* of Nauplion, and principally that they were oppressed and are suffering, because previously they were enrolled as *provisionati* and served our dominion with two horses apiece. After peace with the Lord Turk, by a resolution taken in this Council, they were reduced to simple *stratioti*. There are 17 in number, most loyal, trustworthy, and vigorous, who, as our Captain General and *rettor* of Nauplion write, at the time of our war with the Lord Turk, acted loyally and valiantly, so that they have no equal in merit. It must not happen that our dominion, in consideration of the many regards made clear by the letters of the aforesaid *rettor*, abandon such men who when there was war, were unwilling to spare their own life and blood.¹¹⁶

With the letter was a list of eighteen *stratioti* who had been demoted--and here the Senato, while not admitting wrong, did admit responsibility ("quod auctoritate huius consilij")--and

¹¹⁴ *Dispacci* f52 and 190.40-191.17 for 15 February 1481: "A i capi veramente de quelli che sono Mexa Busichi homo suffitiente et dela sua persona piu valente che i altri suo germani Busechei el qual per la riformation de le condute fatta per il proveditor meser Hieronimo Morezini e sta despresiado et scritto per Semplice stratioto. Et quest fo la caxon che per propria desperation se had mossa afare quanto ha fatto. et meria esser redutto ala condiction et provision che sono i suo germani Piero Duma et Zorzi Busichi. El secondo che e Elia Sagan e qual fo capo de stratioti provisionado et de i vecchi stratioti de questo territorio chiamati Cambites et suo fradello che fo etiam capo provisionado et altri suo parenti sono sta morti in servicii dela V.S. elui per miser Hieronimo predicto non solum fu casso da capo et provisionado et redutto a semplice stratioti ma etiam bastonado: Et questo similiter merita esser redutto al suo primo grado de capo et provisionado. El terzo che e Casnessi Climendi el qual e homo sufficiente et valente de la sua persona merita esser fatto provisionado. Le etiam Vreto Maxi, qual for provisionado et per la reformation predicta reduto a semplice stratioto: E questo similiter merita esser reduto a la sua provision . . . rechiedando cussi le condition del temp me ho remosso . . . supplicando a V.E.x gli piagi farne risposta quanto piu presto sia possibile perche le Importa."

¹¹⁵ *Dispacci* f 52 and 191.30-32 for 15 February 1481: "El portator dela presente Martin Lopessi dela compagnia de i Cladioti, messo eletto per loro. recomando a la V. Ex. Supplicando aquella li piagi darli presta expedition." Magno 234.2: "Venuto etiam uno messo de ditti Stratioti." Minio's *dispaccio* of 15 February arrived in Venice on 25 March, according to Magno who paraphrases much of this report: 232.32-233.5; 233.4-234.4.

¹¹⁶ Senato Mar R 11, f 137v-138r for 23 March 1482: "Venerunt ad presentiam nostram aliqui ex fidelissimis stratiotis nostris Neapolis Romanie et principaliter ut aggravarentur et indolerent, quod cum superiori tempore scripti fuissent provisionati et servient nostro dominio cum duobus equis pro quoque. Postea secuta pace cum domino Turco per partem captam in hoc consilio reducti fuerunt ad simplices stratiotos. Et quum ii sunt numero XVIII fidelissimi, probi et strenui. Qui ut scribit Capitaneus noster generalis maris et Rector Neapolis Romanie, tempore belli nostri cum domino Turco, probe, et strenue se gesserunt Ita ut merito pares non habeant. Nec faciat pro nostro dominio ob multos respectus declaratos ex litteris predicti Rectoris derelinquere similes homines qui cum opus fuit vite et proprio sanguini parcere noluerunt. Also, Sathas VII, 27-28 for 23 March 1482. Again, notice that Minio is mentioned, but by title rather than name, and that this action was taken because of his moral insistence and the advice of the Captain General.

who were to be restored to their former position as *provisionati* with two horses with 10 ducats apiece for expenses. However, the four men Minio had specifically mentioned were not among those restored, but the name of a Micha Golemi was at the top of the list, and among them were a Clementi, a Kladas, and a Bua.

The settlement with the Kladaïoti coincided with Minio's receiving formal information from the ambassador to Constantinople that the boundaries had been settled and the peace with Bayazid confirmed, and the information may, in fact, have facilitated his decision. He asked Vitturi for a copy of the peace treaty to help him as he was working out various details with the Kladaïoti and the Ottomans locally.¹¹⁷

The Captain General stopped at Nauplion later in the month to collect "una bombarda grossa" for Santorini. He stayed at Nauplion for four days, which allowed time for discussions with Minio, and an awkward scene with the *stratioti* who were threat demanding their back pay. Once they had been somewhat pacified, Minio had a *mostra* which included most of the *stratioti* who had joined the Kladaïoti and whom he and Ahmed Bey had pardoned:

They [the Kladaïoti] presented themselves to the Magnificent Captain General with their horse, and this was most gratifying to them, for they are valiant and fiery men, so that there is none to compare with this company of *stratioti*. So His Magnificence has been pleased and satisfied with the reconciliation made with them, and is strongly of the opinion that they should be accepted into grace, as I believe [you will see] by his letter . . . they repent themselves of their fault, and they say that they did not think it would displease VS that they had offended the Turks, and not the subjects of VS. I ask that you will please give me a fast response, so that they will not be bitter, and that there not be another inconvenience that will be worse than the first ones.¹¹⁸

Two months later, Miser Costanzo Loredan came to draft *stratioti* for the Ferrara war. After several days of wrangling with the *capi*, he had signed up only half of the number he wanted. He had told Minio he would by no means ("a nessun modo") accept Mexa Bozikē, Elia Sagan, Casnessi Climendi (three of the four Minio had written the Signoria about specifically) and some others.¹¹⁹ Even though they had been formally

¹¹⁷ *Dispacci* f 53r and 191-192 for 4 March 1482. The ambassador, Antonio Vitturi, was travelling from Venice to Constantinople at the time. Magno 233.

¹¹⁸ This letter was written the same day that the Senato Mar granted the pardon. *Dispacci* f 55 and 194.35-195.1 for 23 March 1482: "I qual se ha presentato a la M.a del general con il suo cavalli. et molto li ha piacesto. per esser homeni valenti et fioriti per modo che fra queste compagnie de Stratioti non ha comparation. etiam la sua M.ag ha havuto piacere et contento la reconciliation fatta a quelli per piu rispetti. et e de larga opinion che sia acetadi a gratia. como credo che per sua lettera scriva a la VS et del fallo suo se chiama pentiti: et dicono haverlo fatto credendo che non dispiacesse a la V.S. per haver offeso Turchi et non i subditi de la V.S. et supplico a quella gli piagi farne presto riposta: atio che questi non stiano cum questa rancuna. et che non intravegna altro inconveniente che sera pezor prioris."

¹¹⁹ Mexa Bozikē redeemed himself in Venetian eyes at the Ottoman attack on Nauplion, if he had not before. "Preterea havendo hora per lettere de i rectori nostri de Napoli de Romania la miserable morte del qu. strenuo cavalier fidelissimo nostro Mexa Busichi, capo de Stratioti, quale combattendo cum Turchi, ferito cum una freza manchò di questo vita, lassando uno fiolo, valente huomo et esperto nella Stratia, cum fiole V in summa miseria et calamità, ed el convegni ala benignità et clementia de questo stado non i abandonare; ex nunc per auctorità de questo consiglio sia preso che dela provision sua quale era ducati XVI al mese al rason de page 4 all'anno, dar se debia al dicto fiolo et fiole per sunstentation dela vita sua ad exemplo de altri ducati X al mese, de esser pagata dala camera nostra de Candia, come facea al padre suo, a rason similiter de page 4

pardoned for their part with the Kladaioti, they were under a cloud: Kladas was now employed by Ferrando, King of Naples, who was supporting the allies at Ferrara against Venice, and Venice, with some reason, did not feel they could be trusted if they had to fight against him.¹²⁰ Minio assumed this decision had come from instructions of the Signoria and he did not want to disobey them, but he was convinced that anyone who had been in the territory could see their value:

They are the most successful people here, and the most trustworthy, and best on horseback. I inform VM, it just about killed them. They said they had been betrayed by the Most Illustrious Signoria, which they had never failed, seeing that they had been made promises by the King [Ferrando of Naples], and by the Lord Turk.¹²¹

The men had been profoundly insulted. Minio tried to reassure them of the Signoria's appreciation, but he was irritated by the Loredan-Signorial stand. After all the effort he had gone to, first working through crisis of the rebellion, and then the days of trying to persuade the *capi* to enlist for Ferrara at all, and making the call-up--and his instructions for this had not come with any exceptions--the rejection was an insult. Here, as in a number of other cases, no matter how critical he was of the *stratioti*, they were his *stratioti* and he could not stand for outsiders to criticize. Even had they all been Kladaioti--and only about thirty of the group were--they had also voluntarily returned to Nauplion. Mexa Bozikē's company of twenty-six had brought its numbers up to eighty for the call-up, and they were willing to go to Italy, even without the enlistment bonus Loredan was offering. They were sending Micha Golemi as their "nuntio" to the Signoria to petition for redress of other grievances--he was in good standing in Venice. Minio again strongly recommended that they be allowed to serve with the other *stratioti* at Ferrara.¹²²

The Bozikē brothers must have sent a petition of their own, as the Senato Mar said a Sfranzi Constantinopolitis, *capo* from Zara, had brought a petition in which they declared themselves "most ready and prepared to be at Venice at our present attack on Ferrarra." The Senato Mar admitted that there was "no one who does not know about their accomplishments." The attack at Ferrara that summer went so badly and there were so many deaths that the Senato was eventually forced to accept them.¹²³

For our loyal Bozikē, who are four in number, let there be a safe-conduct, so that, despite any homicide committed by them, they can return to our aforesaid territory of Nauplion and there live and remain with impunity.¹²⁴

all'anno." Sathas VIII, 60. In 1525, Dominico Bozikē led 69 stratioti at Nauplion. *Relationes* 245.

¹²⁰ The next year Minio learned that Ferrando was sending men to fight for Bayezid on Cyprus. As the Venetians had large financial interests in Cyprus, and were finagling to get final possession, this was of extreme interest. *Dispacci* f 65r and 208 for 11 January 1482[83].

¹²¹ *Dispacci* f 60r and 200.41-201.1 for 24 May 1482: "Aviso V.M. loro rimasti como morti: digando esser traditi de la Ill.ma S.a ala qual mai loro hano fallido ne ateso a promesse le esta fatto si per pare del Re come del S.r T."

¹²² *Dispacci* f 59 and 200.5-17; f 61r and 202.16-32 for 24 May 1482. Micha Golemi: Sathas VII, 28.18 for 23 March 1482. A "Pasqual Gholemi" from Nauplion was declared a bandit. Sathas VIII, 119 for 6 May 1517. Senato Mar R. 19, f 1.

¹²³ The Senato was willing, but not enthusiastic. The first vote on the matter did not obtain a majority of the 133 present, with 65 votes for, 49 against, and 19 not voting. After the number present in the council chamber was brought up to 150, the second vote got 79 for, 56 against, with 15 not voting.

¹²⁴ Senato Mar R. 11, f 153r for 3 October 1482: "promptissimos et paratos esse Venize ad presentem impresiam nostram Ferrarie." "Vadit pars, Quod auctoritat huus consilij predictus fidelibus nostris Busichis, qui sunt numero quatuor, fieri debeat salvus conductus, ita quod non obstante aliquo homicidio per eos perpetrato, possint ad predictum Locum nostrum Neapolie Romanie reverti et ibi libere et Impune stare pro

Five hundred and forty *stratioti* enlisted under Petros Bozikē for Italy who was given a provision of 20 ducats a month and a house.¹²⁵

The rebel Kladaïoti ceased to be a problem in the *dispacci*, but the bandit Kladaïoti remained at large and supported by Moreote Greeks and Albanians. In early September, at the request of Ahmed Bey, a contingent of 1000 cavalry arrived in the Morea to go after the bandits. They attacked the *catuna* where Sinan Bey and his men had been massacred, and took sixty prisoners; the rest of the camp escaped to the mountains. “Those who are desperate will be strong with other Albanians to the damage of the Turks and their subjects, just as the Kladaïoti did.”¹²⁶ If the Venetians managed to block the bandits’ access to Venetian territory, they roamed at large in the Morea “con deturbation de la pace.” Ottoman attempts at control brought more Ottoman military into the Morea and made Venetian hold more tenuous.

It was perhaps fear of these bandits and reasonable concern for what they might do if they decided to take over individual fortresses that prompted Bayezid to direct Ahmed Bey to destroy several castles, including the large castle on the hill at Argos.¹²⁷ Minio argued that destruction of the fortifications would give the bandits a signal that there was nothing in Ottoman territory to oppose them. Apparently Minio’s view was passed on to Bayezid, and even accepted for a while, as in the last *dispaccio*, he reported that the new flamburar, Süleyman Bey, had received “another order that he should not destroy Argos (“un altro comandamento che non dovesse far ruinar Argos”), but that he should look into the problem of the bandits once again.”¹²⁸

Süleyman and Minio worked out an agreement to identify and deal with the bandits. Because it was so difficult telling “i boni da i cattivi,” every Greek or Albanian subject of the Signoria traveling in the Morea would carry a passport (“lettera aperta”) for identification. Further provisions were made to transport bandits and their families to an island, but otherwise, Süleyman Bey was going to regard this as a military problem and use his soldiers. Minio speculated that as the Signoria took away more and more *stratioti* for the wars in Cyprus and Friuli, through the length of time they would be away and the normal processes of attrition, that the countryside would be able to live in peace and quiet (“il paese possa viver in pace et tranquillità”).¹²⁹

eorum arbitrario.” Also Sathas VII, 30.

¹²⁵ Lamprynides, 89, where he refers to Minio as Βερτουκίος Μίνιος. Provision and house: Stato Mar R. 11, f 172r. It is not specified where the house is to be, but the provision is to be paid by the *camera* at Nauplion. Six weeks after the Bozikē vote, in late November the Senato voted by 164 to 2 to 11 to bring in another 2000 *stratioti* from the Morea. Senato Mar R. 16, f 156r. Once these *stratioti* were taken to the *terrafirma*, many of them stayed and had families their Nicolò Bua and his sons, Alexio and Gioni, were fighting in Italy in 1505. Senato Mar R 16, f 93-94, and Sathas VIII, 80 for 21 January 1505[06]. Glenn R. Bugh, Ph. D., Virginia Tech, is studying the *stratioti* who settled in the *terrafirma*.

¹²⁶ *Dispacci* f 62v and 204.25-26: “I qual como disperati saranno forti cum altri Albanese a i danni de Turchi et suo subditi, como feva i Cladioti.” Minio makes the same points that are found in a useful article by Mark Bartusis, “Brigandage in the Late Byzantine Empire,” *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 386-409, although about an earlier period, is directly applicable to the Kladioti and shows how well the revolt and brigandage fit a centuries-old Balkan pattern. Among his points: (1) The brigand has an immediate perceived need, often the settlement of a personal grievance, not necessarily related to economic and social status; (2) He has access to weapons and knows how to use them; (3) His perceived need outweighs moral and legal restraints or fear of punishment. The man to whom these are most applicable is the soldier: brigands become soldiers and soldiers become brigands. Bartusis was not able to identify any act of brigandage by a non-soldier.

¹²⁷ *Dispacci* f 65v and 208.30-41 for 1 February 1482[83]. See Chapter 3, p. 130. Rarely visited, Argos castle is still one of the most complete and impressive of Greek medieval fortresses.

¹²⁸ *Dispacci* f 67v and 211.13-14 for 25 March 1483.

¹²⁹ *Dispacci* f 69 and 213.12 for 25 March 1483.

This was not so. Just over a year later, Zuam Dario, sick, aggravated, and without money, was at Bayezid's camp at Adrianople.¹³⁰ He had a letter from the flamburar of the Morea complaining:

about the many excesses perpetrated in the Morea by many *stratioti* and other subjects of Your Excellency, both from Nauplion and from your other *terre* in the Morea. He sent me a list in which are annotated in order 56 incidents, including the insult and rebellion made by Kladas and other *stratioti* from Nauplion in the Mani.¹³¹

The fact that the letter brought up past events suggests that the Ottomans did expect a cessation of hostilities after the Kladaïoti had been pardoned. They were at wits' end about how to handle the problem, and that they wanted to make it Venetian responsibility even while conceding that the Signoria was not to blame. The flamburar asked for 4,000 ducats compensation for damages, not a large amount at all when it had been earlier claimed that one Kladaïoti effort had gained 60,000. Dario had a slave from Bayezid and a *cadi* on his back ("a le spalle") demanding an immediate response, and he temporized with remarks about the constant plague of piracy. The letter continued:

The former flamburar of the Morea had asked and prevailed on His Magnificence *misser* Bertuchio Minio who was *provveditor* of Nauplion, to pardon them and take them back into favor.¹³²

The Ottomans wanted a return to the standards Minio had set for discipline and relationships: Minio had categorically refused to tolerate any sale of loot within the *terra*: here his successor, Pietro Vitturi, was himself assumed to be profiting from banditry.¹³³ Two days later, Dario had a conference with Davud Paşa, the vizier, and several Ottoman officials about the problem in the Morea, "the peace-loving land completely devastated by these contemptible people."

They know well that Your Signoria has no blame for this. But your *rettori* and citizens divide the spoils, and have in their houses the robes, the turbans, the swords, and other possessions of our assassinated Turks. So we advise you that, not being able to tolerate such evils, we have directed our flamburar of the Morea that they will cut to pieces any *stratioti* of yours they find in the Morea, and they will not be included in the peace if they are not merchants or original citizens of the *terre*, and perhaps in this way we will be at peace.

¹³⁰ Dario, *Dispacci*, #29a for 16 October 1484: "oltre de zio leta mia et le connicion del corpo valitudinario rechiede mior luogo de questo: per che me trovasse uno di mie accidenti usati menandria senza alchuna remission: no li siando que ne medego ne medesine ne alchum remedio si corporal como spiritual. et che muor in questi luogi mor como un can."

¹³¹ Dario, *Dispacci*, #21a for 30 September 1484: "de motle excessi perpetradi in a morea da molti stratioti et altri subditi de la Ex. V.ra: si da Napoli: como da la altre terre v.re de la morea et mandame un libretto . . . in li qualli sono tuti anotadi per ordinem .56. excessi et fra li altri etiam linsulto et rebellion fata per el clada et achuni stratioti de Napoli in el brazo de Maine."

¹³² *Ibid.*: "El flamborar passado de la morea . . . had pregado et constretto la M.cia de misser bertuchio minio che fu prouedador a Napoli che li perdonasse: et che li tollesse in gracia." Dario certainly knew Minio's name: Bertuchio is a nickname for Bartolomeo,

¹³³ *Dispacci* f 49v and 187.11-14 for 16 January 1481[82]. See above, pages 159-160. Bragadin's commission, written six months later, specified that he could not receive or buy from, or sell to, or make agreement with corsairs from land or sea. Bragadin, 294.8-12.

I responded that Their Magnificences could do as they please, but it would be a greater error than the first, because all these *stratioti* were bound together by blood and alliances, and if you kill one of them, the rest would band together and come against you in a mass and commit a thousand evils, and then return to their strongholds in the mountains.¹³⁴

Thus Dario described one of the main themes of the next three hundred and fifty years of Greek and Turkish relationships, the outlaws of “the mountain” against the authorities of the towns. Juxtaposing what he writes with Minio’s earlier report about the bandits selling stolen goods, it is apparent that the mountain outlaws could not have persisted without the markets provided by the towns, and the assistance of their relatives living in those towns. The *pašas* reported that Piero Bozikē, so recently complimented and rewarded by Venice for his actions at Ferrara, was now *capo* of the brigands and had become rich in the business, protected by the *rettori* and citizens who took their own profits.¹³⁵

To weeks later, on 16 October, Dario put a face on the violence: there had been another incident in which *stratioti* from Nauplion beat a certain “Ciri Paşa,” and robbed him of 100 ducats, robes, silk, and other goods. “Ciri Paşa,” permanently crippled, was brought on a stretcher to talk to Dario. Dario told the *pašas* that he would write Piero Vitturi at Nauplion, and give him a list of the names of the malefactors and stolen goods, and that he would go to the *stratioti* camp and look for them.¹³⁶

There was a new *provveditor* in Nauplion who wrote that matters had been settled. A “Schiavo” was sent to investigate, and with his report the *pašas* and the flamburar of the Morea were satisfied with the resolution of that episode, but violence continued and with a shift: the main instigator was not Albanian, but Greek, a Mavromati who attacked Ottomans and Venetians alike. Dario encouraged the Ottomans to go after and punish any bandits on their land, but--and he was well-aware of the possibilities for trouble here--it

¹³⁴ Dario, *Dispacci*, #27a for 2 October 1484: “Et si sauemo ben che la Signoria v.ra non ha colpa de questo. Ma il rectori vostri et li citadini che participa de le prede: et hano in casa le casache le sesse le spade et le altre cose di nostri turchi asasinadi . . . et si ue auisemo che non possendo pui tollerar tanti mali havuemo ordinato al nostro Flamboraro de la Morea che quanti Strattiotti di vostri se trouerano in la Morea siano taiadi apeze et che non siano acetadi per el paexe se non merchandanti et citadini horiginalii de le terre. Resposi a le soe M.cie che elli podeuano far como li piaxeua. Ma mi antiuedeua mazor eror chal primo. Per che tuti questi Stratiotti erano ligadi insieme et per parentadi et per faction . . .vui fare amazar qualchono de lor: et lo resto se metterò insieme et vegnira suel vostro in frota a far mille malli et poi de redurano ne li luogi forti ale montagne.”

¹³⁵ At the time of the Ferrara draft, Piero Bozikē led the opposition to Minio. He was pardoned of crimes and murders by the Senato Mar in October 1482 so he could take *stratioti* to Ferrara. Five hundred and forty-men enrolled in his company, which suggests the influence he could wield. In 1473, when originally made a *provisionato* and given a house, land, and 50 ducats a year for his service during the war, he led twenty-five. He went to Venice in 1474 with a petition. The account of this identifies him as “Piero Busichio el qual fuzido del pavion del Bassa, al qual lera carissimo” and who had saved the captain general from ambush: “hasse porta virilmente.” Sathas VII, #XXV for 13 September 1474. In Senato Mar R. 11, f 172r for 7 July 1482, he is referred to as “nostro D. Petro Busichi Equiti.”

¹³⁶ Dario, *Dispacci*, #29a for 16 October 1484. *Rettor*: Pietro Vitturi q. Rinieri, elected in April 1483. Hopf, 384, has him replaced in the late summer of 1485. However, Hopf may be in error, as Dario says in his letter of 2 November that he had heard from the new *provveditor* of Nauplion. See the following note. There was a long and dreary sequence of robberies and returns. In 1503, the Senato Mar recorded an act requiring that *stratioti* at Nauplion return “le persone et le robe” they took from the Turks. Sathas VIII, 74 for 13 December 1503 and Senato Mar R. 16, f. 27.

would be an act of extreme violence (“un brutissimo atto.”) for Venetians to go onto Ottoman territory to do so.¹³⁷

This sequence of Nauplion banditry illustrates, as does Minio’s agreement with the flamburar, that Ottoman and Venetian officials made their agreements and defined their boundaries at a level that often had little to do with the agreements and boundaries of the governed. The rapidity with which Nauplion citizens and Piero Vitturi acquiesced in violations and participated in the spoils of the bandits also illustrates the real significance an individual *provveditor* could make in the culture of a *città* and yet how fragile were the results that any *provveditor* could hope to achieve. That Minio alone of all Venetian *rettori* of Nauplion was remembered by the Greeks; that the Senato Mar a generation later would refer to his work in Nauplion as the standard--these demonstrate that he was in his time recognized by senators and subjects alike as one who gave benefits and gifts, εὐεργεσίας καὶ χαρίσματα, to Nauplion.

¹³⁷ Dario, *Dispacci*, #30a for 2 November 1484 # 36a for 2 February 1484[85]. Calò, as editor of Dario’s *dispacci*, identifies the new *provveditor* as Vitturi, but Vitturi had been in Nauplion for more than a year and Dario had used his name in other letters. In fact, the immediate cessation of trouble from the Nauplion *stratioti* argues for there being another *provveditor*. An exploration of Senato Mar syndics’ reports might give more information about this episode. According to Hopf, Vitturi’s successor was Luigi Loredan q. Paolo. An act from the Senato Mar of 1517 deal with another complaint of banditry, the murder of bandit Pasqual Gholemi, and a 101-year safeconduct for another bandit, Paulo Caratola. Sathas VIII, 119 for 6 May 1517 and Senato Mar R. 19, f 1.

 ■ GLOSSARY¹ ■

Achingides, achingidi archingides, aganzi	Italian versions of οἱ ἀκινυτζίδες, from Turkish <i>akıncı</i> ; light cavalry used as scouts or raiders
Agia, Agios, Ag.	“Holy”; a title given an Orthodox saint.
Agiasma	A sacred spring; holy well.
°Ahd-name	Capitulation, peace treaty.
Aigina	A large island off the eastern coast of the Argolid; with Angistri, a dependency of Nauplion in this period. Formerly the private holding of the Cavopena family, it was acquired by Venice and put under the control of the <i>rettor</i> of Nauplion in 1451.
Akro-Nauplion	“High-Nauplion”; the upper city on the hill.
Angaria	A general term for forced labor, military service, or <i>corvée</i> ; also required provisions such as wood or hay.
Argos	A town with a hill “opening on the plain like a tent” at the head of the bay of Argos, 8 miles north of Nauplion; attacked and depopulated by the Ottomans in 1397; taken by the Ottomans in 1463. In the <i>dispacci</i> , Argos is the seat of the nearest Ottoman officials, population then about 200 families.
Asapo, azapi axapi	Ottoman irregulars, footsoldiers; Greek ὁ ἀζάπη, ἀζαπίδες, “povero, misero” from Turkish <i>azab</i> , an irregular foot soldier. The Italians interpreted the Greek plural ending -πίδες as -pie “feet,” and so thought of the word as meaning “foot soldiers.” They came from the Ottoman equivalent of the villein class

¹ Most terms and variants will be clarified when they are introduced. The definitions here are not intended to cover the whole range of meanings of the words at the time, but are slanted towards their use in the *Dispacci* and other Venetian or Greek documents quoted. For definitions and derivations, I have drawn from a number of printed sources; the most useful have been; Manlio Cortelazzo, *L'influsso linguistico Greco à Venezia* (Bologna, 1970); Alberto Tenenti, *Piracy and the Decline of Venice, 1580-1615* (Berkeley, CA, 1967); Michele Ghezzo and John Melville-Jones, *Ufficiali e commissioni della Repubblica di Venezia: enchiridio preliminare* (in typescript, 1998); Donald E. Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate* (Urbana, IL, 1986), and the many works of Frederic C. Lane.

	for which this military service was an <i>angaria</i> . The Venetians also used the term for Turkish oarsmen.
Bailo	The ranking official of the Venetian residents in a foreign city.
Ballestriere, -i	A crossbowman; in the <i>dispacci</i> , they come from Crete.
Bergantini	<i>Fuste</i> : see below.
Bolletta	The list of soldiers entitled to payment after inspection.
Cadi, caddi	The Ottoman <i>kadı</i> , judge. <i>Dispacci</i> : “i Caddi de la Charitena, Calavrita, et Argos.”
Camera	A treasury, whether of Venice, Nauplion, or a group of mercenaries.
Camerlengo, camerarius chamberlain	The colonial official responsible for the local treasury; in Nauplion this position went to a Venetian patrician.
Cancellier	In the <i>dispacci</i> , Minio’s Private Secretary, aide, some-time paymaster, and general functionary; the term is also used for the paymaster for the <i>stratioti</i> (see “Collateral”).
Capitula	A charter, petition, or treaty, depending on context.
Capo	Leader of a band of <i>stratioti</i> .
Capo Collone, Colone	“Cape of Columns,” named for the columns of the temple of Sounion, south of Athens.
Capo Mantello	Southern cape of the island of Euboea/Negroponte.
Capo Scyllo	South-eastern cape of the Argolid peninsula or Aktē.
Captain General	<i>Capitano Generale da mar</i> ; highest official in the Venetian fleet.
Castellan	Responsible for a castle, its guard, and prisons; also officer of the peace.
Castello dei Franchi	A bastion on Akro-Nauplion built by the Franks after 1210; rebuilt several times by the Venetians, most notably in 1471-75, and in the 1690s.
Castello dei Grechi	The westernmost, original, and largest fortified area on Akro Nauplion.

Castello d' Isola	Also Castel da Mar, Scoglio, and Scoio: small fortress on Nauplion's harbor island; the name has innumerable variants.
Catuna	Albanian encampment; also, the self-governing group of Albanians and their leader living in such a camp.
Cavalieri de san Marco	The sole order of Venetian knighthood. Korkondēlos Kladas was made a <i>cavalier</i> of San Marco in 1479 for his services in the war.
Città	With <i>terra</i> , the official term used in the <i>dispacci</i> , Senato and Senato Mar documents for Nauplion, with or without the surrounding territory.
Collateral	Military paymaster; also called <i>cancellier</i> .
Condotta	Military contract, specifying number of <i>paghe</i> , "pays" or men for whom wages would be paid, not the actual number of men in a troop; also types and frequency of payment: more honored in the breach than in the observance.
Condottiere	Not in the <i>dispacci</i> . Venetian experience with <i>condottieri</i> in the Morea during the war of 1463-79 made them wary of allowing so much power to a single individual; they shifted to a system of mercenary groups under local <i>provveditori</i> .
Contestabele, -i	Led Italian <i>fanti</i> .
Corone	Deep-water port near Methone on the extreme southwest peninsula of the Morea; one of the "eyes" of the Republic; acquired in 1206, surrendered to the Ottomans in 1500.
Dacieri	Horsemen from Dacia, i.e., Albania.
Datio	General term for tax.
Defteri	Ottoman register (<i>defter</i>) of properties and names, like the Italian <i>catastico</i> .
Di, Qu., Q.	In Venetian names, <i>di</i> is "son of", and <i>qu</i> or <i>q.</i> (<i>quondam</i>) "son of the late"; Bartolomeo Minio is Bartolomeo qu. Marco, as his father is dead; his son Marco is Marco Minio di Bartolomeo.
Dizdar	Castellan, warden in Ottoman system; <i>gisdar</i> to the Italians.
Ducat	Gold Venetian coin rarely seen in Nauplion; 1 ducat = ±175.5 <i>soldi di piccoli</i> ; in Venice, 1 ducat = 124 <i>soldi</i> . The

	difference between this relationship, and the one quoted below where 5 ducats = 20 soldi = 80 torneselli comes from the difference between the ducat as money of account in Venice based on a silver <i>soldo</i>, and the <i>hyperper</i> (see below) as money of account in the colonies, based on the <i>tornesello</i> (penny, denier). Two different rates of calculation are used in the <i>dispacci</i>.
Emin	An honorary title for a high Ottoman official or assistant to the Sultan.
Famiglia	Staff, servants or family, depending on context; <i>famiglia</i> for Minio is his staff and servants; <i>famiglia</i> , -e for <i>stratioti</i> and <i>villani</i> are families
Fanti	Italian footsoldiers; mercenaries.
Flamburar, flambulare	Ottoman governor of the Morea, with the insignia of one pennant; from <i>flamma</i> “pennant”; <i>sancakbeyi</i> of the <i>sancak</i> of the Morea.
Fusta, -e	A narrow, light galley with shallow draught, 12 to 18 benches on a side, and one or two men to a bench; usually in the <i>dispacci</i> a pirate ship, although not exclusively. The length to-width ratio was about 8:1, the light galley ratio about 6:1. <i>Fuste</i> had great speed and maneuverability over short distances. These may also be called <i>bergantini</i> or <i>galeotte</i> .
Great Council	<i>Maggior consiglio</i> , a hereditary assembly which elected the officials of Venice and the <i>stato mar</i> .
Grippo, greppo gripo	A small (under 100 tons) one-masted, lateen-rigged boat, with oars and sails, manageable by two or three men, for fishing, trade, troop transport; very like the contemporary καΐκι, <i>caïque</i> . Minio uses one to send a message when nothing else is available; <i>grippi</i> from Crete brought the first of the wine harvest to Venice every year; from γριπεύς Gk, fisherman.
Gripparia	A boat used for grain transport.
Haraç	The Ottoman “head” tax, collected in this period on all males over the age of fifteen.
Hyperper, perperi	Greek coinage, <i>hyperperon</i> , no longer officially in circulation but used as money of account in the colonies. The hyperper of the Morea was 1 hyperper = 5 ducats = 20 soldi = 80 torneselli, the rate quoted in the <i>dispacci</i> . The hyperper of

	Crete was 128 torneselli, that of Corfù 120, that of Negroponte 100.
Janissaries	The highly-trained, elite rank of Ottoman soldiers drawn from non-Moslem origins; from OT <i>yeni çeri</i> .
Light galley	A long, narrow trireme with a single lateen sail, twenty-five to thirty benches on a side, 3 men to a bench; mostly used for military duties.
Mahonese	A representative of a Genoese colony; the <i>Mahona</i> was the Genoese shareholding company that ran the colonies, something like the East India Company.
Manē, Mani	The central of the three peninsulas at the south of the Morea, and one that has evolved a history, myth, and ethos unique in Greek history.
Maran	A small slow, lateen-rigged roundship of 200-400 tons for bulk cargo, troop and horse transport (40-50 horses); like the cog, but smaller, and without fore- and stern- castles; source of great frustration in the <i>dispacci</i> .
Methone	The most important of Venetian Levantine ports, and a stopping place for ships of all flags, with shipyards, armory, food storage, and warehouses, reported as crowded and short on inns, edible food, and water for bathing. Methone pigs were a main source of Venetian meat. Acquired in 1206 as a result of the Fourth Crusade, and taken by the Ottomans in 1500.
Miser, Ser	<i>Miser</i> (for <i>Mio Signore</i>) is the honorific title of Venetian patricians; <i>ser</i> for citizens of Nauplion. Minio is a <i>miser</i> , while Zuam Dario is a <i>ser</i> . This usage is consistent in the <i>dispacci</i> , although not in Sanudo.
Monē	A convent or monastery; the Greek does not distinguish.
Morea	The medieval term in general use for the Peloponnesos.
Mostra	A muster; the formal parade for troops, required before payment was made
Muda	A trading galley convoy; the period of loading such galleys; or ships loading in the East in a particular period; in modern Italian, <i>moult</i> . The term is used with a variety of meanings in 15 th century documents.
Nauplion	A port on the eastern side of the Gulf of Argos, dating from

	late Helladic period; mentioned by Pausanias as abandoned; reappears in documents in 879; held by the Sgouroi 1200± in opposition to the Comnenoi; taken by Frankish troops with Venetian aid in 1210; purchased by Venice in 1388; surrendered to Ottomans in 1540; retaken by Venetians in 1686; retaken by Ottomans in 1715; surrendered by Ottomans to Greeks in 1822; first capital of free Greece.
Negroponte	The large island east of Attica now called Euboea; Venetian version of Egripos, the ancient and traditional Greek name derived from Euripos, the name of the channel between the island and the mainland. Its loss to the Ottomans in 1470 brought Nauplion into prominence.
Orator	An ambassador or emissary for a particular mission; Venice sent Nicolò Cocco as <i>orator</i> to Constantinople, Nauplion sent Giovanni Catello as <i>orator</i> to Venice.
Parendarie	Small sailing boat that could be operated by one man.
Passo	“Pace,” i.e., two steps or five <i>pie</i> ; 5.5'.
Patron	The commander of a trading galley.
Pay(s), paghe	The men listed in a <i>bolletta</i> ; also payments, either grain or money, given such men.
Pie, piede	Equivalent to a foot measure = 1.1'.
Plateia	Greek for <i>piazza</i> ; public square; “flat,” open place.
Podestà	“Power,” from Latin <i>potestas</i> , general term for the governor of a town or territory.
Porporella, porpora, puporora	An underwater barrier, such as Minio wanted to construct around the island fortress.
Procurator	An agent or representative having the equivalent of power-of-attorney.
Protogero	In the <i>dispacci</i> , an emissary from the Sultan with authority to determine territorial boundaries in Greece; used in letters of Mehmed II as synonym for <i>kethüda</i> , a term used in combinations to indicate a high-level aide. Minio uses it sometimes as a synonym for translator, and sometimes for an aide, and sometimes for the honor of the occasion.
Provisionato	A <i>stratiote</i> or <i>capo</i> with a (more or less) permanent contract

	from Venice and regular salary or land grant; usually with two horses; also one of a group of <i>provisionati</i> from Italy with such contracts.
Provveditor(e), -i	Title used in combination for a number of officials; Minio is <i>provveditor</i> of Nauplion, i.e., a <i>podestà</i> with military authority. In the <i>stato mar</i> , although not in Venice, <i>provveditor</i> implies a civilian with military oversight.
Provveditore d' armata	The highest civilian rank in the Venetian fleet.
Quaranta	“The Forty”: the appeals court of Venice which eventually became three groups of forty; also approved entrance of young nobles to the Great Council.
Reformation, riformation	Revision, reform. The <i>provveditore d'armata</i> 's unilateral <i>reformation de condatta</i> is a major cause of disaster in the <i>dispacci</i> , as it caused large groups of <i>stratioti</i> to decamp and declare war against the Ottomans.
Regalia de la bancha	Written rules to be followed by paymaster; <i>bancha</i> refers to the bench where soldiers were enrolled and paid.
Regimen(e)	Name given to the “rule” or government of the smaller <i>terre</i> in the <i>stato mar</i> , equivalent in meaning to the Indian <i>Raj</i> , consisting of the <i>rettor</i> and two <i>concilieri</i> .
Relationes	Reports required of <i>rettori</i> at the end of their terms; ambassadorial reports.
Rettor(e), -i	A general term for governor of a Venetian colony, without military implications
Romania	The continuation of the Roman Empire under Byzantium as the Greeks considered themselves the continuation of the Empire; similarly, the Venetians used this term to refer to their Greek mainland colonies until 1715. Not to be confused with the country of Romania.
Sancak	One of forty-eight Ottoman provinces, such as the Morea, ruled by <i>flamburar</i> or <i>sancakbeyi</i> (“lord of the battle standard”); the Ottoman word for flag or military standard.
Scrivan	Scribe; secretary.
Senato	Also, <i>Pregadi</i> and <i>Rogati</i> , from “invited”; members were elected by and part of the Great Council, with responsibility for matters such as finance, coinage, the military, declaration

of war, peace settlements, and jurisdiction for commerce and navigation, which necessarily meant the *stato mar* entities. There were 120 official members with the potential for another 140 with right-of-entry. *Provveditori* and *rettori* were supposed to attend meetings of the *Pregadi* and take part in deliberations within three months of returning to Venice. The *Senato* handled details of the peace accords, the boundary discussions, and the Kladas affair, as these had to do with international diplomacy.

Senato mar

A body of the *Senato*, composed of the *Savi agli ordini* (sometimes called *Savi da mar*), meeting in committee with the Doge and his councillors. These *Savi* were supposed to be selected from men who had already served as *rettori* in the *stato mar*. The *Senato Mar* handled matters of administration and finance for those cities and territories necessarily reached by boat, so that the *stato mar* included not only cities in Greece and Albania, but Lido, Torcello and Ravenna.

Signoria

Supreme Venetian political authority consisting of 10 members: the Doge, his 6 councillors, and the 3 capi of the *quaranta criminale*. Among its responsibilities was the administration of the colonial empire for which it made recommendations to the *Senato* and *Senato Mar*. It was this body to which Minio reported. By the end of the reign of Doge Cristoforo Moro (1462-71), the term *Signoria*, rather than *Commune*, had come to stand for the Venetian government as a whole. The *Signoria*'s parallel overseas was normally the local *provveditor* or *rettor* and his two *consilieri*.

Soldo, -i

Silver coin and money of account. 1 *soldo* = 4 *torneselli*. In Nauplion at this time, 175.5 *soldi* = 1 gold ducat; while in Venice, 124 *soldi* = 1 gold ducat.

Somazo

Tax on food brought into the city for sale.

Sopracomito

Commander of a light galley; one of the first responsibilities to which a young patrician could be elected at age 25, though he would have an experienced captain alongside for advice. Depending on the number of galleys in service, he might be reelected several times.

Stera, staia

Approximately a cubic meter of grain, or 2.37 bushels or 63 kg of wheat.

Stratiote

A mounted horseman; usually Greek, Albanian or Epirote, although English, German, Irish, Slavic, and Italian *stratioti*

	can be identified; increasingly used by Venice in the <i>terrafirma</i> wars.
Stemma, stremmata	A <i>stemma</i> is the equivalent of 1/4 acre.
Subassi	Ottoman, <i>subaşı</i> , a security officer or police chief, and commandant of town or castle
Terra	Along with <i>città</i> , the term used in the <i>dispacci</i> , Senato, and Senato Mar documents to refer to Nauplion with or without the surrounding territory.
Terraglio	The wall on the land side of the city, or a wall constructed of earth.
Timar	A land-grant (fief) under the Ottoman system.
Tornisello	Basic coin for paying soldiers; designed in 1353 for use in the colonies; 4 <i>torniselli</i> = 1 <i>soldi</i> ; shipped to the colonies in bags of 64,000 <i>torneselli</i> (depending on date).
Toro	Third and easternmost of the three fortifications on Akro-Nauplion; Greek version of Venetian <i>torrione</i> "tower."
Tuğra	Large ornamental calligraphy, sometimes gold or colored, heading official letters and actions by a sultan; not a signature, as such, although it contains the sultan's name.
Turciman	Translator (OT: <i>tercüman</i>), speaker of Turkish; also <i>truciman</i> .
Varnitio	Military service required of feudatories; when commuted to a cash payment, called <i>disvarnitio</i> .
Villani	Villeins; what most rural Greeks in the <i>stato mar</i> were.
Voivode	Italianization of Slavic <i>voyvoda</i> , or ruler; term for local ruler in the Ottoman system; in the <i>dispacci</i> , these are Greek or Albanian.
Zagdari	A low-caste category of soldiers; Cortelazzo considers them foot-soldiers and gives <i>miserable</i> as a synonym; the Greek ὁ τζάγδαρος is unsure, but may derive from Turkish <i>zag-</i> "blade" and <i>-dar</i> "owner," which suggests they were armed with javelins.
Zamoro, zemoro	Tax frequently under discussion in the <i>dispacci</i> : 10% of the grain harvest, payable in coin or in kind; from Greek

Wright

το γεώμορον, το γήμορον.

Zattera, -e

Bridge of boats.

■ APPENDIX 1 ■

■ Identification of Individuals in the *dispacci*¹ ■

■ Nauplion Residents and Greeks

Damian Agrimi	Merchant, <i>patron</i> of boat taken by pirates.
Francesco Alberto	Nauplion citizen; held fief at Castri taken by flamburar; took troop of <i>stratioti</i> to Ferrara.
Alvise	Venetian citizen, harbor pilot, and <i>patron</i> of a <i>fusta</i> .
Andrea	Venetian citizen; sold Hieronimo Lion the silver cups.
Olivoto de Cavopena	Nauplion citizen, probably of the family that owned Aigina until 1451; emissary to flamburar; spoke Turkish.
Nicolò Cacoyanni	Greek capo well-regarded by Minio; emissary to flamburar; spoke Turkish.
Janulli Calavro	Greek agent for bishops of Nauplion (titular bishops of Argos); Nauplion citizen; lent Minio money; given fief after 1500.
Marco Catello	Nauplion citizen; emissary to Senato; his family had been citizens for generations, and often served as emissaries.
Theodoros Kolokotronēs	1776-1837; general of the <i>Epanastasis</i> , landholder, and sometime bandit; wrote memoirs that reflect the

¹ This list contains all individuals mentioned in the *dispacci*, as well as some other names from contemporary texts. Identification of citizenship assumes Minio's consistency in using *ser* for citizens of Nauplion and Venice, and *misser* for Venetian patricians. All *provveditori*, *rettori*, *sopracomiti*, diplomats (other than Zuam Dario), and captains are Venetian patricians. Names are listed as spelled in the *dispacci*; those transliterated from Greek in the text, are returned here to their form in the *dispacci* for purposes of reference, e.g., Bozikē: Busichi; Kladas, Clada. Pierre MacKay, Ph.D. of the University of Washington suggested usages for Ottoman names and terms.

	lives of the Albanians, rebels, and bandits as described in the <i>dispacci</i> .
Iosepho Lion	Patrician; Nauplion <i>camerlengo</i> ; disliked Minio.
Hieronimo Lion	Patrician; bought silver cups for flamburar.
Zorzi da Londa	Nauplion citizen; merchant; spoke Turkish.
Manoli	Greek translator for Zuam Dario and Minio in the boundary negotiation: sometimes called “turciman” or “truciman.”
Rinaldo Mezola	Nauplion citizen; merchant; brought word of Mehmed’s death.
Francesco de Nassin	Nauplion citizen; fief-holder; led <i>stratioti</i> on one occasion.
Zuam Manzucato	Nauplion merchant who lived in Athens: his Naupliote wife and child had been taken by pirates
Demetrios Pigasē.	Greek <i>protopappas</i> : possibly the unnamed bishop of Nauplion who found witnesses for Minio; appointed 1460.
Andrea Pulimeri,	Took list to Venice of Naupliots captured by Turks.
Nicolò de Spoliti	Represented his brother-in-law, the <i>cancellier</i> , in petition to Venice.
Nicolas Zafuris	Cretan painter who worked in Nauplion in 1492.

■ Ottomans

Ahmed Bey	Flamburar or <i>sancakbeyi</i> ² of the Morea late 1480-82; good friend to Minio; proposed amicable settlement for Kladas rebellion; part of <i>paşas</i> ’ plot.
Ahmed Gedik Paşa	Flamburar of Avlona and naval commander for attacks on the Ionian islands and Apulia; executed by Bayezid II for his part in <i>paşas</i> ’ plot.

² In Turkish, c is given the sound of dj, as in Cem Sultan and *sancak*.

Ali Boumikos	<i>Beylerbeyi</i> of Roumelia; sent with cavalry after the Kladaioti.
Bayezid II	Sultan, 1481-1512; settled boundary and rebel issues in the <i>dispacchi</i> amicably.
Cem Sultan	Younger son of Mehmed II, popular with aristocratic class; focus of <i>paşas</i> ’ plot to obtain the throne.
Halil Bey	Emin sent by Mehmed in February 1479[80] to settle the boundary lines.
İsmail Paşa	Voivode of Karitena; relative of several rebels and instrumental in settling the rebellion.
Mehmed II	Sultan, 1451-1481; captured Constantinople and the Morea; agreed to Minio’s definition of the boundary.
Ömer Bey	Emissary of Bayezid II to investigate <i>paşas</i> ’ plot in Greece, 1482.
Ömer Çelebi	Nephew of Ahmed Bey, <i>sancakbeyi</i> of the Morea, and a <i>subaşı</i> ; member of <i>paşas</i> ’ plot.
Sinan Bey (1)	Emissary from Mehmed II who came with Zuam Dario to settle the boundary lines in September 1480.
Sinan Bey (2)	<i>Subaşı</i> killed in a raid on the Kladaioti, 1481.
Süleyman Bey (1)	Flamburar of Morea in 1479-81 who tried to take Nauplion land; part of 1480 boundary negotiations. Also called “Bassa Eunuch,” (OT <i>Hadım</i> = Eunuch) he was originally a Bosnian who was rewarded for his services in the 1463-79 war with the <i>sancak</i> of the Morea; sent to war in Apulia where he was captured, then released to aid in that peace settlement.
Süleyman Bey (2)	Flamburar of Morea during war and again in 1483; imprisoned under Mehmed, freed by Bayezid; invited Minio to join the <i>paşas</i> ’ plot.

■ Stratioti and Fanti

Capi:

Nicula Agallioti	Elected to take <i>bolletta</i> to Venice, September 1481.
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Gini Blessa	Elected to take <i>stratoti</i> to Ferrara.
Caracassimi	Part of opposition to Ferrara draft.
Duciso Comi	Elected to take <i>bolletta</i> to Venice, September 1481; also known as “Gaidari”--Donkey.
Nicolò Dacha	<i>Cancellier</i> brought by <i>capi</i> from Methone, winter 1481.
Gini Frossini	Part of opposition to Ferrara draft.
Dominico Gardassi	Spoke Turkish and translated for Minio; took flamburar gift of wine.
Paulo Lalucho	Elected to take <i>bolleta</i> to Venice, September 1481.
Martin Lopessi	Rebel; took Minio’s peace proposal to the Senato.
Antonio da Milan	<i>Cancellier</i> for <i>capi</i> , 1482.
Zan di Stellazi	Elected by <i>capi</i> as <i>cancellier</i> , winter 1481.

“Old” and “New” Contestabeli as of 1480:

Pasqual d’Aste	Old, retained.
Belforte	Old, retained.
Batista da Catharo	New.
Curicho Corso	Old, fired.
Orson Corso	Old, fired.
Baron de Legnano	New.
Antonio Marinato	New; much-liked by Minio; lent Minio money; took petition from <i>fanti</i> for money to Venice; captured by and escaped from pirates.
Marin da Monopoli	Old, fired.
Pelostro	Had led a company in the Morea in 1464; died in 1477, but his company had kept itself well-disciplined and together for the two years following his death and refused another leader.

Alvise Purinello	Old; dead by winter 1481.
Schiaveto de Servia	Old, lent Minio money.
Nicolò Tarsio da Pieve	Given company formerly with Purinello; took petition to Venice for Marinato, December 1481.
Zorzi Todescho	Old; lent Minio money; highly-complimented for his abilities; took petition from <i>fanti</i> to Venice.

Provisionati:

Damian and Matheo Andromida	To be paid by the Nauplion camera in recompense for land lost during war.
Petro Bua	Important <i>capo</i> during war; in Ionian islands as of 1479.
Theodoro Bua	Highest-ranking <i>capo</i> at Nauplion; led rebellion in support of the Clada rebellion.
Duma Busichi	Knight; supported rebels; go-between for settlement negotiations.
Mexa Busichi	Knight; leading rebel with Theodoro Bua.
Petros Busichi	Knight; supported rebels; go-between for settlement negotiations; led opposition to Ferrara draft; later took large company to Ferrara.
Zorzi Busichi	Elected to take <i>stratioti</i> to Ferrara.
Zogan Caratolla,	Knight; go-between for settlement; opposed Minio on draft; elected to take <i>stratioti</i> to Ferrara. Also, Sogan and Xonga.
Gymno Casnessi	Capo.
Cosmo Chelmi	Companion of Theodoro Bua; rebel; jailed with him at Monemvasia.
Epifani Marco Clada	Brother of Corcondilo.
Corcondilo Clada	Knight; and leader of rebellion; “Crocodile”: Krokondēlos Kladas.
Manoli Clada	<i>Podestà</i> of Vardounia; brother of Corcondilo.

Casnessi Climendi	One of the leading Kladaioti.
Marin Climendi	Knight; go-between in settlement with rebels; opposed Minio on draft; elected to take <i>stratioti</i> to Ferrara.
Petro Frossini	<i>Provisionato</i> paid by Nauplion camera in return for losses during the war; capo; volunteered to take <i>stratioti</i> to Ferrara.
Micha Golemi	Took appeal for justice from rebels to Senato, 1482.
Vreto Maxi	Cashiered: rebel with Kladaioti.
Theodoro Paleologos	Assigned fief at Castri.
Michael Rallis	Highest-ranking <i>provisionato</i> in Morea; killed 1466.
Ilia Sagan	Older capo beaten at the Morosini <i>mostra</i> ; one of the leading Kladaioti. Also called Cambites.

Rebel fanti sent for punishment:

Bernardin da Bologna	
Bernardo da Bressa	
Barella da Ferrara	
Lonzin da Fiorenza	
Agustin de Parma	Asked for letter to be written with complaint against Minio.
Agustin da Piacenza	
Michiel da Taranto	

■ **Venetians**

Augustine de Matemarico	Latin bishop of Nauplion (titular bishop of Argos), 1482, unnamed in <i>dispacci</i> ; Benedictine abbot of Monastery of S. Leonardi in Chioggia.
Jacomo Barbarigo	<i>Provveditor</i> of war in Morea, 1465-66; killed, August 1466; wrote <i>dispacci</i> .

Angelo Barozzi	<i>Sopracomito</i> ; brought replacement bombarda, summer 1482.
Ottaviano Bon	<i>Rettor</i> of Argos, 1398; settled Albanians on abandoned land.
Scipio Bon	<i>Sopracomito</i> .
Francesco Bragadin	<i>Provveditor</i> and captain of Methone, 1485; died, 1486; his commission is frequently quoted here.
Valerio Chiericati	From Vicenza: <i>collateral</i> for Morea during the 1463-1479 war.
Nicolò Cocco	Ambassador to Constantinople, April 1480; Councillor, 1482.
Bernardino Contarini	<i>Rettor</i> of Nauplion, 1525.
Domenico Contarini	Last <i>rettor</i> of Argos & Nauplion as a joint <i>terra</i> , 1461-1464.
Nicolò Contarini	<i>Provveditor</i> and captain of Corone, 1479-1482.
Saraceno Dandolo	<i>Rettor</i> of Nauplion, 1394.
Zuam Dario	Venetian citizen from Crete, notary, and merchant; emissary to Egypt, then to Sultan Mehmed II; negotiated peace settlement of 1479; Secretary to the Senato, later Secretary to the Dieci and emissary to Persia.
Bernardo Diedo	<i>Sopracomito</i> ; present at Nauplion for Kladaioti negotiation, 1481.
Lunardo Diedo	Minio's predecessor as <i>provveditor</i> of Nauplion.
Christoforo Duodo	<i>Provveditor</i> of the fleet, June 1480; visited Nauplion 1482, had galley repaired.
Francisco Foscari	Doge of Venice, 1423-1457; forced out of office; guaranteed independence to the Orthodox monastery in Nauplion.
Batista Gritti	Venetian <i>bailo</i> in Constantinople.
Nicolò Justiniani	<i>Rettor</i> of Nauplion, 1522-1524; wrote a <i>relation</i> .

Antonio Loredan	Captain General elected December 1479-80; <i>provveditor</i> of Ferrara war, May 1482; died, August 1482.
Costanzo Loredan	<i>Sopracomito</i> ; came to Nauplion several times; captured a pirate <i>fusta</i> ; took word of Mehmed II's death to Venice; selected <i>stratioti</i> for Ferrara, summer 1482; relieved briefly of his command and brought home in the summer of 1483 for severe illness.
Stefano Magno	Venetian patrician and chronicler, 1499-1572.
Perazzo Malipiero	First <i>provveditor</i> of Nauplion, 1388[89].
Tomaso Malipiero	Patron of trading galley bringing cloth from Thessalonikē, 1482.
Lucha Mantello	<i>Sopracomito</i> ; brought grain from Venice, August 1480.
Iacomo Marcello	<i>Provveditor</i> in Morea for war in 1475; elected Captain General in December 1482.
Thomaxio Maripetro	<i>Orator</i> to Constantinople, 1477-79; worked with Zuam Dario on peace treaty.
Guilelmus Militis	Nonresident Latin bishop of Nauplion (titular bishop of Argos) unmentioned in <i>dispacci</i> ; d.1482.
Bartolomeo Minio	<i>Provveditor</i> and captain of Nauplion, 1479-83; wrote <i>dispacci</i> discussed here; b.1428?-d.1518.
Bartolomeo Minio, Jr.	Captain of <i>borgo</i> of Methone, 1482; led troops at Kefalonia; a very distant relation.
Giovanni Mocenigo	Doge of Venice during period of <i>dispacci</i> , 1478-1485.
Ieronimo Morosini	<i>Provveditor</i> of the fleet, 1480-81; responsible for the <i>mostra</i> of fall 1480 at which Theodaro Bua revolted; d. late 1482.
Vittore Morosini	<i>Rettor</i> of Nauplion, 1389.
Nicolò Navager	<i>Castellan</i> of Corone, 1480-1483.
Marin Pasqualigo	<i>Provveditor</i> of Monemvasia, 1480-1483.
Vettore Pasqualigo	<i>Provveditor</i> of Nauplion, 1471-1473; supervised

	building of walls for Akro-Nauplion, and the Castello d'Isola.
Bartolomeo de Pesaro	Castellan of Methone, 1482-1485.
Zuam Pisani	Traveling with Barozzi, summer 1482; wanted <i>stratioti</i> for Santorini.
Cristoforo de Prioli	<i>Provveditor</i> of Nauplion after late-1475; died in office late 1478 and replaced by Minio's immediate predecessor, Lunardo Diedo.
Marco Salamon	<i>Rettor</i> of Nauplion, 1468-71; prosecuted 1478 for embezzlement.
Michael Salamon	Elected <i>provveditor</i> of the fleet, January 1478.
Antonio Soranzo	<i>Provveditor</i> and Castellan of Methone, 1480-82.
Luca Soranzo	<i>Sopracomito</i> ; visited Nauplion with Duodo in 1482, had galley repaired.
Vittore Soranzo	Captain General, 1481-82; visited Nauplion, borrowed bombarde.
Vittore Superantio	<i>Provveditor</i> of the Fleet, December 1478; Captain General, March 1480-December 1482.
Benedetto Trevisan	<i>Orator</i> to Constantinople in 1479.
Piero Trevisan	<i>Sopracomito</i> ; Minio's brother-in-law who came frequently to Nauplion; relieved briefly of his command and brought home in the summer of 1483 for severe illness.
Priamo Tron	<i>Provveditor</i> and captain of Methone, 1480-1483.
Jacobo Venier	<i>Provveditor</i> of fleet, May 1479.
Zuam Francesco Venier	<i>Sopracomito</i> ; brought wheat from Methone.
Antonio Vitturi	<i>Orator</i> to Hungary, 1477; <i>orator</i> to Constantinople, July 1481.
Francesco Zane	<i>Rettor</i> of Aigina, 1480-85.

■ Others

Pietro Casola	Canon; pilgrim in 1480s; author of travel book.
Ferrando d'Aragona	Opportunist king of Naples; retook Apulia; joined Ottoman attack on Rhodes; hired Krokondēlos Kladas to support anti-Ottoman revolt in Albania; sponsored pirates.
Joos van Ghistele	Flemish traveler in the eastern Mediterranean.
Zuan Antonio Justiniani	Genoese patrician and Mahonese of Chios.
Sigismondo Malatesta	Lord of Rimini; <i>condottiere</i> ; patron of Leon Battista Alberti and Piero della Francesca; led forces of papal crusade in Morea 1463-1466.
Leonard III Tocco	Lord of Sta. Maura (Lefkadia); sponsored pirates.
Zuan Franceso Zanco	"Sworn brother" of Krokondēlos Kladas who aided his escape.

■ APPENDIX 2 ■

■ Bartolomeo Minio's Appointment as *Provveditor*³ ■

MccccLxxviii. Die xiiij Febrij

Consiliarij

Cum ex hac vita decessit vir nobilis Christophorus de Priolis olim Rector noster Neapolis Romanie, cui deus parcat, necesse est providere cum omni possibili celeritate quod se gubernator illius loci nostri reperatur et presit unus noster nobili ut locus ipse non vacet Rectore, Quod nimium esset periculorum repectu ponderis et importantie dicte terre.

Idcirco Vadit pars Quod auctoritate huius consilij subito scribatur et committatur Capitaneo nostro Coroni que amota omni dilatione quam primum accepto nostro mandato eat Neapolim ubi maneat ad gubernatorem illius terre donec illam applicet vir nobilis Barths. Minio, designatus provisor noster predicti loci. Qui cum omni celeritate expediatur. Et committatur Castellano nostro Coroni quod interim restet pro Castellano et Capitaneo illius terre.

Et ex nunc captum quod compleatur armari in termino dierum octo ad longius galea armata, que iam incohata est armari. Super qua teneatur discedere suprascriptus Ser Barthus Minio sub pena ducatorum mille in fines proprijs bonis exigenda per mandatum advocatires consilii sine ullo consilio. Que galea teneatur eum ducere usque Corpheum et inde ulterius non transeat quam ita iam est captum in hoc consilio, pro expeditione cuius Ser. Barthim. Accipiantur pecunie de omni loco et officio ex non obligati. Et nisi possint aliter huius accipi possint mutuo, et obligari pecunias decime numero 37 ultra ducatum xij jam in illas obligatos.

de parte	180
de non	9
nonsinceri	7

1478, 13 February

Councillors

Since the nobleman Christoforo de Prioli, our former rettor of Nauplion of Romania, has departed this life (may God forgive him), it is necessary to provide with all possible speed that a governor be found for that place of ours, and that one of our nobles be put in charge so that the place not be without a *rettor*, because there would be too much danger in respect to the value and importance of the said territory.

Therefore, the motion is made that by the authority of this council it be immediately

³ Senato Mar R. 11, f 12r.

written and entrusted to our captain in Corone [Leonardo Diedo q. Francesco] that as soon as he receives our mandate, he should go without any delay at all, to Nauplion where he is to remain as governor in that territory until the nobleman Bartolomeo Minio, *provveditor*-designate, arrives at the aforementioned place. Let him make ready with all speed. Our castellan of Corone is entrusted meanwhile to remain as castellan and captain of that territory.

Also, it is voted that the arming of the galley already being armed be completed by the end of eight days at most. The above-mentioned *ser* Bartolomeo Minio is required to depart on this under penalty of 1000 ducats exacted from his own possessions by command of the advocates of the council, without further action by the council. This galley is required to take him to Corfù and from there it may travel no further than that which has already been determined by this council.

For *ser* Bartolomeo's travel, money may be obtained from each place and office from that not obligated. Unless otherwise it can be obtained from borrowing money obligated to *decima* #37 beyond the 12 ducats already obligated for that.

For	180
Opposed	9
Not voting	7

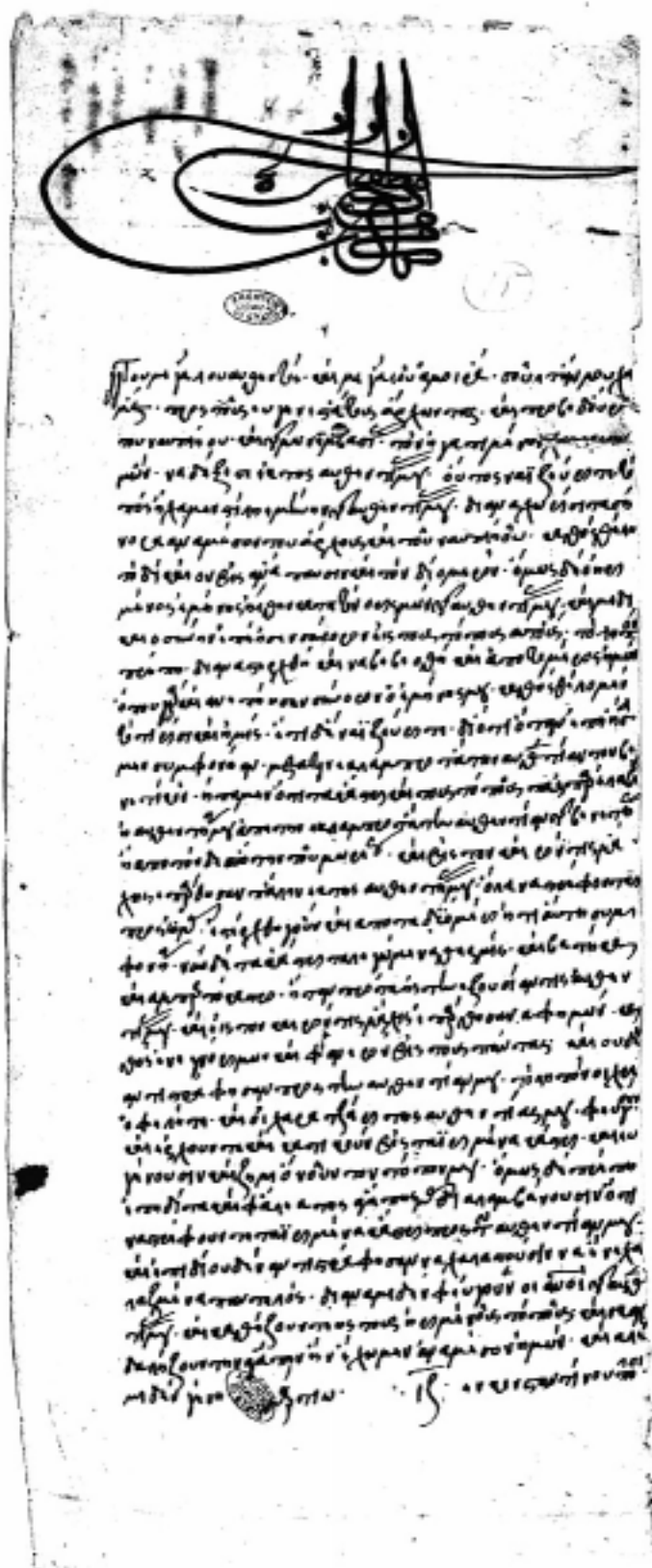


Figure 2: Letter of Mehmed II to the *Provveditori* of Nauplion and Monemvasia, 17 March 1480. (Original: 18 cm. x 43 cm.)

■ APPENDIX 3 ■

■ Letter of Mehmed II to the *Provveditor* of Nauplion, 17 March 1480⁴ ■

Του μεγάλου αυθεντός καὶ μεγάλου ἀμοιρά· σουλτάν Μουχα-
μέτ· προς τοὺς ευγενεστάτους ἄρχοντας καὶ προβεδούρα
του Ναυπλίου καὶ της Μωνημβασίας τὸν ἡγαπιμένο[ν] χ[αιρειτισ-]
μῶν να δέξεστε ἐκ της αυθεντίας μου οὗτος ναὶ ζεύριτε τὸ-
πος ἥχαμεν στίλη ἐμήνην της αυθεντίας μου διαν αχωρίσι τα σή-
νορα αναμέσου του Ἄρχους καὶ τοῦ Ναυπλήου καθὸς θέλη
τὸ δίκαιον εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ τὸν δίο μερὸν ὅμως δὲ ὁ ηρι-
μένος ἐμήνης ἦλθεν κατα τὸν ὀρισμῶν της αυθεντίας μου καὶ με δι-
καιοσύνην ἐπὶ ἦσεν σύνορον εἰς τοὺς τόπους αὐτούς· τὸ ληπὸν
πρέπη· διαν ἀστερχθῇ καὶ να βεβεοθῇ καὶ ἀπο το μέρος ἡμῶν
ὅπου γὰρ καὶ αν ἐπήησεν σύνορον ὁ ἐμήνης μου καθὸς θέλομέν
τὸ τιρίσι καὶ ἡμῖς ἔτι δὲ ναῖ ζεύριτε διότι ὅταν ἐπηήσα-
μεν συμφονῆαν μετα τιν ἐκλαμπροτάτην αυθεντίαν τον Βε-
νετικὸν ἥπαμεν ὅ τι τα κάστρι καὶ τοὺς τόπους τας παρέλαβεν
ἡ αυθεντία μου ἀπε την ἐκλαμπροτήν αυθεντίαν της Βενετίας
ἢ ἀπο τὸν δεσπότην τοῦ Μωρεως καὶ εἰς τον καιρὸν τις μά-
χης ἐπάρθησαν πάλιν εκ της αυθωντίας μου ὅλα να στρέφονται
προς ἡμᾶς ἐστέρχθη γοῦν καὶ ἀπο τα δίο μέρι ἢ τι αὐτὴ συμ-
φοιή· νῦν δὲ τα κάστρι τα λεγόμενα Θερμῖς καὶ Βατήκα
καὶ Ἀμπερτόκαστρο· ἦταν πρότα ἡς την ἐξουσίαν τις ἀνθην-
τίας μου καὶ εἰς τον καιρὸν τις μάχης ἐπάρθησαν ἀφ ἡμῶν κα-
θος ἐνε γνόριμων καὶ φανερόν εἰς τοὺς πάντας καὶ ουδεν
αντιστράφησαν προς την αυθεντίαν μου τὸ ληπὸν οἱ χρε-
οφελῆτη καὶ οἱ χαρατζάρι της αυθεντίας μου φεύγουν

⁴ Letter of Mehmed II to the Provveditori of Nauplion and Monemvasia, 17 March 1480. ASV *Atti diplomatici e privati*, b45/1342, *a tergo*, “1480.die.17.martii ad rectores di Nauplij quod li petit ut nonnulla opida diruantur.” The letter is written on a small scroll, 18cm x 43 cm, headed with a *tuğra* of Mehmed II. (See Figure 2, preceding page.) I have transcribed the Greek as written, with no improvements or corrections of accents, adding capital letters for clarity. A contemporary Italian translation, included in this Appendix, found in ASV Documenta Turchi, b 1/13: “17 marzo 1480 Mehmed ai rettori di Napoli di Romania ed Epidauro.” There is likely to have been a second original sent to the *provveditor* of Monemvasia, as Vatika was in the Monemvasia *terra*. A contemporary transcription and translation are found in b 45/1324: Liber Graecus, f 14. A Greek text, much edited, is published in Miklosich & Müller Vol. 3: p. 301-2, where the original is said to be “tabularii Vindobonensis.” Of this translation: “Dall’originale che attualmente non si trova,” according to Alessio Bombaci in *I “Documenti Turchi” dell’Archivio di Stati di Venezia*, Maria Francesca Tiepolo, editor; inventario della miscellanea, Maria Pia Pedani Fabris; edizione dei registi, Alessio Bombaci. Pubblicazioni degli Archivio di Stato CXXII (Venice, 1994) 6 n3. Because *lacunae* appear in the same location in both the Venetian scroll and the published transcription, I suggest that Bombaci did not compare the transcription with the Venetian original, and that there is no missing original as he suggests. As further evidence, a document from 1454, ASV Documenta Turchi, b1/1, is also identified by Miklosich & Müller Vol. 3: p. 290, as “tabularii Vindobonensis.”

καὶ ἔρχονται καὶ κατίζουν εἰς ταῖ ριμένα κάστρι καὶ εὐ-
 γένουσι καὶ ζημιόουν τον τόπον μου ὅμως δὲ πρέπη
 ἔπηδὶ τα καιφάλεια της ἀγάπης μας δι ἀλαμβάνουσιν ὅτι
 να στρέφονται ταῖ ριμένα κάστρι πρὸς την αυθεντίαν μου
 καὶ ἐπιδὶ ουδεν ἀντιστράφησαν να χαλαστούσιν να ἔνε χα-
 λαζμένα παντελὸς διαν ἀμιδὲν φεύγουν οἱ ἄνθρωποι της αυθεν-
 τίας μου καὶ καθήζουτε ης τους ἡριμένους τόπους καὶ σκαν-
 δαλήζουν την ἀγάπην ἣν ἔχωμεν ἀναμέσον ἡμῶν καὶ ἀληως
 μιδὲν γένη.
 μαρτιω .ιζ´. ἐν Κονσταντινουπολοι.

From the great Lord and great Emir, Sultan Mehmed, to the most noble Governors and *Provveditori* of Nauplion and Monemvasia, concerning the peace treaty: receive My Authority's warmest greetings.

You yourself know how we sent My Authority's Emin, for the purpose of the just division of the lands between Argos and Nauplion as you desire, for the quiet of both places. Thus the aforesaid Emin came according to the command of My Authority, and he did justly determine the division between these places. Moreover, it is necessary that it be strengthened and confirmed, and for our part, wherever my Emin places the boundary, so accordingly we too desire to observe it. Moreover, you will know because when we concluded the agreement with the most illustrious Signoria of Venice, we said that the *castri* and the places My Authority took over from the most illustrious Signoria of Venice or from the Despot of the Morea, or in the time of war were taken from My Authority, will all be returned to us. In truth, this agreement was confirmed by both sides.

Now the *castri* called Thermissi, Vatica, and Amberto-Castro⁵ were first in the power of My Authority, and at the time of the war were taken from us, as is well-known to all, and were never returned to My Authority. Thus, the slaves and the *harac-güzar*⁶ of My Authority flee and come and reside in the aforesaid *castri*, and live there and inflict loss on my land. Nevertheless, it must therefore be, just as is contained in the chapters of our peace accord, that the aforesaid *castri* be returned to My Authority, and if they are not returned, they must be torn down and completely destroyed, so that no people of My Authority flee, and settle in the aforesaid places, and disrupt the peace which we have between us. Otherwise, nothing is gained.

17 March in Constantinople.

Minio summed up the letter in his *dispaccio* of 21 May 1480:

Adi 15 del presente, per uno messo del Bassa flamburar de questa provintia me fe aportar una lettera del Signor Turco la qual in questa inclusa mando a la Vostra Signoria, accio la intenda quanto scrive a mi et al Podesta de Malvasia circha la division de i confini fatti per

⁵ Minio gives the names of the castles involved as Thermissi, Castri, and Vorsicha, while Mehmed's letter refers to τα κάστρι τα λεγόμενα Θερμῖς καὶ Βατήκα καὶ Ἀμπερτόκαστρο. Vorsicha seems to be a misunderstanding of Vatica which was in Monemvasia territory. Ἀμπερτόκαστρο--*Ambertocastro*--is Castri, a fief of *ser* Francesco Alberto. (In MGreek, μπ has the sound of B, and β that of V). Forty years later Castri was still under Alberti control. *Relationes*, 246.

⁶ Χαπατζάρη = charazari (= OT *harac-güzar*): persons paying the *haraç* (*charazo*), the tax on male "heads".

il suo Emini, et i castelli del Thermissi Castri et Vorsicha che li debiamo restituir, acio sia ruinadi etc.⁷

Contemporary Italian translation:

Ad Rectores Nauply et Epidauri de quibusdam opidis dirruendis ne debitores eius haveant receptaculum quo se conferunt.⁸

Del Gran signor etc. Muchamet ad Nobilissimos provisores de Napoli de Romania et de Monevasia. La dilecta salutation restuati da la Signoria mia. Vi dinoto como havevamo Manda lo Emini de la Signoria mia per divider li confini tra Argos et Napoli de Romania, como rechieste La Justicia e comodita de una parte et laltra. El qual secondo el comandamento de la Signoria mia el vene, et cum Justicia meter confini in i predicti luogi. Adonque die esser conferma et approba questo ha exequito el ditto Emini etiam dal canto nostro. come etiam nuÿ observeremo. Item Vi dinoto come sapere, che quando romagnissemo dacordo cum La Illustrissima Signoria de Venexia dissemo, che lo terre et luogi che la Signoria mia havesse tolto da la Illustrissima Signoria di Venezia, over da I despoti de la Morea, et poÿ nel tempo de la guerra fussemo tolti de la Signoria mia, tuti dicti luogi dovesseno esser restituidi a nuÿ. Laqual cossa fu approba du tute do li parte. Al presente le terre nominate Thermi, Vatica et aberto castro, erano per el passe soto el dominio de la Signoria mia, et nel tempo de la guerra fu preso per vuÿ, comè è noto et Manifesto a cadauna. Et non sono da possa restituidi a la Signoria mia. Li datiarÿ veramente et li debitori de la Signoria mia fugitivi vano ad habitar a li predicti Luogi. Et Inseno et damnigano el paese mio, adonque se die, che non essendo sta restituidi come contieno i capti de la nostra pase a la Signoria mia, siamo ruinadi, si che rimagnano totalmente diffati dicti luogi, accio i homeni fugitivi de la Signoria mia non se redugmo a i dicti luogi, et perturbino la pase nostra, qual havemo tra nuÿ, et di questo non se face altramente.

Die Xvÿ Martÿ In Constantinopli 1480 ./.

⁷ *Dispacci* 15v and 137.39-43 for 21 May 1480: "On the 15th day of this month, I had a letter brought to me from Signor Turco by a messenger from the *Paşa* Flamburar of this province, which I include with this for Vostra Signoria, so you will learn what he writes to me and to the Podestà of Monemvasia about the territorial division made by his Emin, and the castelli of Thermissi, Castri, and Vorsicha (Vatica) which we should restore to him, also those to be destroyed, etc."

⁸ ASV Documenti Turchi, b 1, filza 13. This translation was a contemporary file copy written in brown ink in one hanging paragraph with a wide left margin, on one side of page folded in half, then folded lengthwise in quarters. *A tergo*, dated "17 Maÿ 1480" in contemporary handwriting: *Maÿ* is probably a misreading of *Martÿ* at the end of the letter. I have retained the punctuation, capitalization, and spelling of the document as written. There is nothing about this translation to suggest that it is or is not the translation Minio sent to Venice. The "Epidauri" mentioned in the greeting is Monemvasia: it was sometimes called Paleo Epidauros as the site of Epidauros Limera 5 kilometers to the north was settled originally by Epidauros.

 ■ APPENDIX 4 ■

 ■ *Dispaccio of Bartolomeo Minio to the Signoria, 5 August 1480*⁹ ■

Serenissimo Princeps etc.: hic diebus promimi, per la nave patron Lucha Matello esta conduto dequi formenti de raxon dela V. S. stera 4869, et quantunque io per avanti za fa mexi 6 habia richiesto qui per mie a V. E.a de mandar formenti dequi per mantegnir queste vostre zente deputade a custodia de questo luoch, tamen da quattro mexi in qua vedendo la raxon de li biavi esser bonissima in finis et reverentemente aricordai a Vostra E. gli piacesse mardarmi danari perche judico haver stera 4 ducato, et non intendo como sia persuaso che a la S. V. non ha piacesto ad aldir l'aricordo mio. Notificando ala V. Sublimita che con i denari che costa questo formento, lo haveria possuto haver tanto formento che oltra stera 5000 che have messo in magazin, haveria possuta dar una paga a questi Stratoti et soldati.

Ma dapoi che cussi ha piacesto a V. Ex.a io rimagno contento et afforzarome de conservar questo formento qui ducto, et usarlo ai bisogni meglio che me sera possibile; et vedro de cambiar in fina stera 1000, con formento bon novello peroche questi formenti in breve tempo è per guastarse, perche formenti vechi, et [non] potria esser meglio conditionati de quello i sono il formento di questo paexe, se diverte in piu parte, et smalutase per piu vie, quando e sta de qui compradori, et etiam in questo locho non ne habi dita ne modo de far biscotti.

Ceterum questi soldati deputadi ad custodia de questa terra sono redutti atanta penuria che mazor non potria esser, perche da 5 mexi in qua che sono reformate queste condutte, et hebero di page, non hano avuto altra subvention. Epur per el passato, del formento li veniva dato mezo stero al mexe per paga per lo vivere, per necessita vendeva // la meta et tochava qualche danaro per iso bisogni. Al presente i non po haver piu de 15 quartini del staro; etiam per le malatie usano al presente in questa terra, son molti de loro amalati, ela piu parte muor per desasio et mancamento de danari che non ha uno soldo de poterli subvegnir; per modo che al presente non credo che sia piu de 240 page; sono za do mexi passati che non gli ho fatto la mostra, per esser como dico molti amalati. Pero prego et supplico la V. Sga si degni mandarli danari deli suo belligeranti acio si possano subvegnire et mantegnirse aliter tochat da summa inopia et necessita, i li sera forzo di levarse di qui et abandonar la custodia de questa terra, la importantia de la qual V. El. optimamente intende.

Preterea sono mexi 5 passadi che de li fo mandato *ser* Marcho Catello Ambassador de questa Comunita, suplicando a Vostra Exelentia gli piagi proveder a le cose chel domanda per besogni de questo luoch, de uno maran, uno ove do tajapiera, tavole dalbedo,

⁹ BMCV Codici Cicogna Ms. 2653: Dispacci a senato ed altri di Ser Bartolo Minio, ff 17v-18r and Sathas, 140.27-141.23. Punctuation and capitalization have been minimally modernized. In the *dispacci*, dates are for the most part written with the days in Roman numerals and the years in Arabic, as, *xiiij Junij 1480*. *J* is conventional for terminal *I*, as is setting off numbers with periods, as *da .5. mexi in qua*.

ferramente et danari per la fabbrica.

Io non ho scritto za fa molti giorni a V. Sub. per la inconvalescentia mia peroche sono stato in letto giorni 22 e son andato quasi fin alaporta: al presente gratia Dei ison risanato.

De novo: da alcuna parte non habiamo cossa alcuna degna de signification. Die v Augustij 1480.

[To the Signoria]

5 August 1480

To the Most Serene Prince, etc:

In recent days, the ship of *patron* Luca Mantello brought here 4869 stere of grain rations from Your Signoria, as I have asked for 6 months for Your Excellencies to send grain here to maintain your people sent to guard this place.¹⁰ Still, the four months in which the grain has been for sale is finished, and I respectfully reminded Your Excellencies to please send me money. I estimate it will be 4 stere a ducat. I do not believe that Your Excellencies do not intend to answer my reminder. I suggest to Your Signory that with the money this grain cost, I could have bought more grain, more than 5000 stere, which would be here in the storehouse. Then I would have had the possibility of giving a pay to these *stratoti* and soldiers.

But since this is Your Excellencies' pleasure, I remain satisfied. I will try to conserve the grain sent, and use it as needed as well as possible for me. I am going to exchange 1000 stere for good new grain, because this grain has disintegrated in a short time, because this is old grain and not in as good condition as the grain from this area. I will divert a part of it and sell off much more as there are buyers, and since there is no facility for making *biscotti* here.

Also, the soldiers assigned here to guard this *terra* have been reduced to such penury, which could not be greater, because in the five months since the revision of the *condotta*, they had two pays, and they have had no other allowances. Although, in the past, the grain given to them came to a half-ster per month per pay for them to live on, by necessity they have sold the half and used some of that money for their needs. At present, they can't get more than 15 *quartini* a stera. Also, because of the illness at present endemic in the area, many of them are sick, and most will die from disease and lack of money, as I do not have one *soldo* I can give them. Because of this, at present, I do not believe there are more than 240 pays.¹¹ I have not made the *mostra* for more than two months now because, as I said, many are sick. So I ask and entreat Your Signoria to deign to send money for her fighting men, so they can be paid and taken care of. Otherwise, touched by extreme want and necessity, they will be forced to levant and abandon the guard of this land which is so important to Your Excellencies' plans.

Further, 5 months have passed since *ser* Marco Catello, Ambassador of this Commune, was sent to ask Your Excellencies to please provide the things he requested for the needs of this place: a maran, 1 or 2 stonecutters, white fir planks, hardware, and money

¹⁰ *Patron*: captain of a merchant ship elected by the partners investing in the voyage.

¹¹ *Quartini*: 1/4 liter. This means that the soldiers are down to less than 4 liters out of the 42 liters in a half-ster.

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for construction.

I have not written Your Sublimity for many days during my illness, because I have been in bed 22 days, and was almost at the end, at the Heavenly Gate. At present, thank God, I am up.

There is no news around here worth mentioning. 5 August 1480.

■ APPENDIX 5 ■

■ Letter from Mehmed II on the Kladas Affair, 5 November 1480¹² ■

Sultan Mehemet dei gratia totius Asie & Grecie victoriosissimus Imperator & cetera, Serenissimo principi ac Excelentissimo dominio Venetorum etc.

Sapiate come el mio sclavo Soleman Sangiacbei dela Morea me ha denotato per una sua lettera. che uno nominato Clada Greco el qual era stato Rais in el loco de Zigo è venuto in el tempo de la pace & ha habitato in lo castro vostro de Coron con la soa fameia. & poi e andato & ha conturbato li homeni de Zigo & hano sublevato capo. & si hano occiso li mei Timareti chi erano in quel luogo. & hano occiso lo subasi de Megalo Mania. & poi ha recogesto li homeni de quel loco. & hano furato la torre de Trigefalo. & occiso li guardiani. & lo castellano de dicto castello. or el vostro ambasciatore e fato de questo Clada securetato che sel se trovasse che mai el dicto facesse tradimento, over cossa mal fatta de prender lo & ligar lo cum ferri & mandar lo ala Vostra Signoria per tanto attenta la pace & amor che è tra voi & noi, è cossa condecante che uno simel ribaldo sia usito daloco vostro de Coron & cometter tanto male/. è manifesto che la Vostra Signoria di cio non habia indition. ultra questo è stato dicto che li vostri de Coron hano prexa la familia del dicto & li fioli¹³ & lo haver & stano sequestradi. & secondo che dimostra par che anche de cio altri homeni haver indicio. or lo mando homeni a quele parte per prender lo. & cossi conviene che voi da la parte vostra comandati che providamenti sia preso & punir col se conviene acio che per altri non sia tal eccesso, attenta la pace & bona voluntate la qual è inter voi et noi. & cossi vogliati scriver ali vostri che la familia & li fioli del dicto Clada siano presi & dati ale mano del mia Zangiabei & che li debia mandar ala mia Porta. & che li vostri debia scrivere per minuto el fatto come fo intervenuto.

Scrita ale c[. . .] de Constantinopoli adi .5. de Novembrio .1480./

Sultan Mehmed, by the grace of God most victorious Emperor of all Asia and Greece, etc., to the most Serene Prince and Most Excellent Signoria of the Venetians, etc.

Know that my slave Süleyman, *sancakbeyi* of the Morea, has informed me by letter that a Greek named Kladas, who had the position of *Reis* in the territory of Zigo, and at the time of the peace came and lived in your *castro* of Corone with his family, has gone out and aroused the men of Zigo and they have made him capo. They have killed my timar-

¹² ASV Atti diplomatici e privati, busta 45, filza 1324: Liber Graecus, f 43v/1356, “Petit ut clada caput stratiotarum.” The letter shows a very literal rendition of its Greek original. A similar letter of the same date, to the Venetian *bailo* in Constantinople, is found in a collector’s copy in the Biblioteca Marciana, BNMV Mss. Lat. Cl. 14, #267, Coll. 4344, “Re turbatione Cladorum.” The two differ slightly in spelling and in a few phrases.

¹³ The Kladas sons, Theodoros (b. 1475) and Manoli, were quite young.

holders who were in the area and they have killed the *subaşı* of Megalo Manē. Then he collected the men of the province and they fired the tower of Trigafoli and killed the guards and the castellan of the castle. Your ambassador has now made assurance that this Kladas, if he was ever found, had acted treacherously, done an evil deed, and was to be taken and bound in irons and sent to Your Signoria for such a great outrage to the peace and love which is between you and us. Is it decent that such a rebel go out from your place, Corone, and commit so much evil?

It is obvious that Your Signoria had no indication [of this]. Beyond this, it has been said that your men at Corone have taken his family and his sons, and have them, and they have been confined. Secondly, that it also appears that other men had a hint of this. Just now I am sending men to the area to take him. It is necessary that you on your part order that measures be taken to seize and punish those who came with him so that there not be such abuse by others, the outrage to the peace and goodwill which is between you and us; and that you write your people that the family and sons of the said Clada are to be taken and given into the hand of my *sancakbeyi*, and that he should send them to the Porte. Your people should write in detail the event as it happened.

Written at the [chancery] in Constantinople, 5 November 1480.

 ■ APPENDIX 6 ■

 ■ *Dispaccio of Bartolomeo Minio to the Signoria, 13 December 1481*¹⁴ ■

Serenissimo Princeps etc. Per altre mie et ultimatim sotto di 28 del passato scripsi a V. Ex. ad plenum quanto occorreva et circha i danni commessi et a la giornata se commette da fuste de Turchi, le qual se ha nudrigato et nudrigasse continue in queste parte, per modo che questa terra se po reputar assediata da mar per le ditte fuste, et da terra per la rapine, occision, et danni commessi per la setta de i Stratioti Cladioti, como per altre mie ho dato particular notitia a V. Exl. Per questa significo a quella, adi ultimo ditto, esser tornato de qui el strenuo Antonio Marinato contestabile, il qual esta preso da una fusta de Turchi in servitii de la V.S., et per sua industria ha havuto modo le liberarse de le man et servitu de infedelli con do altri compagni de quelli sono sta prexi con lui, per mexo di uno Turcho di nation // cristiana, il qual hera sta mandato a compagnar et guardar il detto Antonio in fin a Sio dove fusse diceva esser apparecchiato il suo tratto de aspri quattromila. E come fo a Sio el sape far tanto chel indusse et converti detto Turco de farse cristian cum promission de ducati 50, i qual have modo ditto Antonio de trovarli a Sio per via de imprestedo, non da Zenovesi ma da uno marcadante da Coron, e pagati a esso Turcho chel fo fatto cristian, et ando in Candia donde hera nassuto per visitar suo parenti, poi die vegnir de qui et farsi scriver caporal sotto esso contestabile, secondo lordine dato fra loro cum promission large, con le quale have modo de liberar etiam i altri duo compagni. Et perche il detto contestabile in questa sua captura ha ricevuto danno assai si de robe, et una fusta sua et arme le qual portava cum lui sopra el maran chel andava ben in ordine per obedir et seguir i commandamenti mei in servitio dela V.Ex., et etiam de i ducati 50 chel dete al Turcho, el rechiedeva da mi licentia de poder vegnir a i piedi de la V.S. a supplicar et domandar suffragio daquella a questo suo infortunio et danno ricevuto. Io veramente se per non esser de mio foro a darge una tal licentia como etiam per haver la sua persona de qui apresso de mi, che val el pretio et a la fabricha de questo luocho, conferisse assai, etiam per governar la sua conducta et attendar ala sua guarda. Li ho renegato tal licentia. Unde el manda el portator dela presente, suo compagno et commesso Nicolò Tarsio da Pieve qual fo il principal de i provisionati, olim sotto Alvixe Pucinello, per comparir al conspecto de la V.S. et dimandar subsidio et aiuto da quella, per restauration del danno recevuto como si preditto, el qual strettamente recomando a V Exl., suplicando a quella se degni prestarli benigna audientia et exaudir et inclinar ala sua petition che aquella parera juste et honeste. Dinotando a la V.Ex. chel ditto contestabile avantila sua captura haveva remesso molte page per fornire la sua cunducta, per liquial se ha impegnado et indebitado de gran summa de danari, se non obstante che lui sia sta preso tamen per il bon trattmento che fece et fa ala sua compagnia, niuno de loro se ha mosso fino al suo ritorno, trovo tutta la sua compagnia

¹⁴ BMCV Codici Cicogna Ms 2653 : Dispacci a senato ed altri di Ser Bartolo Minio, ff 47v-48v and Sathas VI, 184.27-185.25.

in calmo, per modo che non li mancho pur una paga dela sua condotta et e una compagnia sufficiente et ben // in ordine, sicche si per l'infortunio et danno havuto como etiam per le virtu et sufficientie sua merita esser raccomandato apresso la V.S. E cussi iterum el racomando aquella, cuius gratia etc.

Die XIII Decembrio 1481.

Serenissimo Princeps etc.

In my other letters and in the most recent of the 28th of last month, I wrote Your Excellencies at length about what had occurred, and about the damages committed that day by the Turkish *fuste* which have nested and continue to breed in this area, so that this territory thinks itself besieged from the sea by the *fuste*, and from the land by the rapine, murder, and damages committed by the faction of Kladaioti *stratioti*, as I specifically informed VE in my other letters.

In this, I inform you that the worthy *contestabele* Antonio Marinato has returned here on the last day mentioned. He had been captured by a Turkish *fuste*, when in the service of VS, and by his own ability has managed to free himself from servitude in the hands of the infidels with two companions from those who were captured with him, by means of a Turk from a Christian nation who had been sent to accompany and guard Antonio as far as Chios, where he said he was expected to be sold for 4000 aspri. While he was at Chios, he knew to do so much that he persuaded the Turk to convert to Christian, with a promise of 50 ducats, which the said Antonio managed to borrow at Chios, not from the Genoese, but from a merchant from Corone, and paid the Turk, who become a Christian, and went to Candia where he had been born to visit his relatives. Then he came here and enrolled as corporal under the *contestabele*, according to the arrangements between them with generous promise, with which he had a way also to free the other two companions.

Because this *contestabele* had suffered injury as to his possessions when he was captured, and his *fusta* and the arms which he carried with him on the maran, when he properly obeyed and followed my orders, in the service of VE, and also the 50 ducats he gave to the Turk, he requested my permission to come to the feet of your Lordship as supplicant to ask relief from you for his misfortune and the losses sustained.

I did not give him such permission to be away from me, so I could keep him with me, as he is worth a great deal, and on the construction here, especially as an advisor, and also to fulfil his contract and see to his company, I refused permission. Therefore, he sends the bearer of this, his companion and representative Nicolo Tarsio of Pieve, who was the leader of the *provisionati* formerly under Alvise Pucinello, to bring the report to VS and request a subsidy and aid from you, to make up for the losses experienced, as I said. I strongly commend him to Your Excellency, asking that you deign to give him a sympathetic hearing and hear him out and favor his petition as it seems fair and honest to you.

I would inform VE that this constable, before his capture, had lent many back pays to pay for his *condotta*, which I have borrowed, and owe him a great sum of money, not considering that he has been captured. Nevertheless, by his good discipline that he used and has in his company, none of them was missing at his return. He found all his company quiet, so that he did not miss even one pay of his contract, and it is a competent company and well-disciplined, so that both because of the misfortune and damage he had, as also for

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his virtue and competence, he deserves to be commended to VS, and so likewise I commended him to you, to whom thanks, etc.

13 December 1481

■ APPENDIX 7 ■

■ Determining the Boundary Line¹⁵ ■

Comenzando de la Torre Bianca da la marina,
dove fo mostrado per i vecchi nostri e soi d'accordo,
passando la fiumera che è nostra, traversando la
campagna andasemo in fina uno locho chiamata
Aïto, distante da Argos circha miglio uno et da
Napoli circa miglia quattor,

poi de là andasemo verso la montagna per
tramontana in fina uno pozo chiamato i pozo de La
Thura, in fina il qual luogo, secondo el ditto de i
nostri vecchi et le scripture nostre, havemo havuto il
dover nostro cun contention de questi citadini e
Stratioti.

De li dovendo voltar per ischena de le montagne
verso levante per circondar et includer el confin et
territorio da Napoli . . . andemo in fina Drapano a la
marina, seranda la via de dar a i castelli predicti del
Thermissi et Castri, et escludando uno locho chimado
Candia et Iri.

Dispacci f 20 and 144 for September 1480

Et principando da la Torre Bianca da la marina,

donde comenza el confin da Napoli, et vegnando ad
una torre chiamata del Contarini che fo retor ad
Argos,

et traversando la campagna per tramontana in fin a
una montagna chimata Basso Gremio,

et de li declinato verso levante et andando per le cime
de le montagne, applicha et finisce a Capo Schillo a
la marina, includando dentro i castelli del Castri et
Thermissi con e so pertinentie et i luoghi de Iri et
Candia.

Dispacci f 56 and 195 for April 1482

These points of reference are woefully lacking in precision, but Minio had made a map of the territory during the August 1480 negotiations, and presumably the Signoria had its own maps and information. The eastern side of the territory and its boundaries have been discussed in recent work which draws heavily from Minio,¹⁶ while the western side of the territory has so far been ignored. I believe more of these specific sites can be identified by using Minio's reports quoted above, in conjunction with some few remarks he made elsewhere, and maps of the Argolid.¹⁷

¹⁵ The approximate boundary line, confirmed by the negotiations discussed in Chapter Three and in this appendix, is shown on the accompanying map which gives Nauplion a much larger hinterland than do the maps shown in *Ellēnismos*, 277, based on an inadequate reading of Minio, and Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne*, 185, which shows the land at the time of acquisition by Venice. Minio reported that he had obtained 20,000 *stremmata* (500 acres). *Dispacci* f 57r and 197.

¹⁶ Jameson, et al., 121-126.

¹⁷ These suggestions for the western boundaries are drawn from maps, and from my memories of exploring the coast and the marsh twenty years ago. I would be grateful for a more recent consideration. Kiveri and the

principando da la Torre Bianca da la marina . . . passando la fiumera che è nostra

The boundary line begins at medieval Kiveri where a small, clear river (“la fiumera che è nostra”) runs to the bay, a scene best described in *Odyssey* 6.85-95. Medieval Kiveri is the hill of Pontinos and town of Myloi (“the mills”): modern Kiveri is two miles down the coast, directly opposite Nauplion on the bay. On the far side of the small river and parallel with it appear to be traces of a Venetian wall containing a passageway which would allow communication between another structure and a small tower by the shore. The base of this tower remains, and I am proposing this as the Torre Bianca of both descriptions.¹⁸

The small river (“which is ours”) runs south from the caves of Kefalarion [see below]: it was in antiquity, and again in modern times, called the Erasinos.¹⁹

Kiveri, throughout the *dispacci*, is assumed to belong to Nauplion, and Minio mentioned that “Civier” with its mills was a fief.²⁰ Kiveri is included in several lists of territories to be discussed by the negotiators, such as in the letter of Mehmed II of 10 July 1480: Θερμισίου καὶ Καστρίου καὶ Τζιβερίου, and in that of April 1481: “Tziveri, which is now destroyed, was not under Venetian authority, likewise those mills found in its vicinity.”²¹ “Kiveri which is now destroyed” refers to the castle on the low hill of Pontinos.²² Minio reports that the fiefholder contributed to a gift for the Emin in April 1482, having been one of those who benefitted from his decision: even though there is no record of any discussion, this suggests that its possession could not be taken for granted until the final round of negotiations.

ad una torre chiamata del Contarini che fo retor ad Argos.

There was a tower at Nauplion called the Contarini tower in later years, but this cannot be confused with Minio’s boundary tower. Nauplion and Argos had thirteen *rettori* named Contarini over 150 years.²³ However, Dominico Contarini q. Bernardo, elected in February 1461, was *rettor* at the time of the loss of Argos in 1463, and conceivably he had built some outlying defenses against the Ottomans. The Venetian constructions at Myloi and its harbor have never been thoroughly excavated and examined: this Contarini tower is likely to have been located in the complex of Venetian remains southwest of Myloi, just below the road to Argos, some of which were built to control the multiple springs of the area.²⁴ However, the location of the tower and identity of the particular Contarini are

caves were thoroughly described in Pausanias II.24.6-7; 36.6-8; 37.

¹⁸ The identification of Kiveri with Myloi is well-accepted. Bon, 494-495; Schaefer, 174; Wallace E. McLeod, “Kiveri and Thermisi,” *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 378-386.

¹⁹ Andrews, Pl. XIX gives an excellent late-seventeenth century map of the Argolid plain and the course and swamps of the Erasinos.

²⁰ *Dispacci* f 57r and 197.11.

²¹ ASV Documenti turchi, B1/2 and Miklosich & Müller 309: τὸ δὲ Τζιβέριν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ κεχαλασμένον νῦν, ἔστω μὲν τῇ αὐθεντίᾳ τῶν Βενετιῶν, μὴ κτισθῆτω δὲ, ὁμοίως καὶ ὅσοι μύλοι εὐρεθῶσιν εἰς τὴν περιοχὴν αὐτοῦ. The present town of Myloi is famous for its bread.

²² Only the most minimal and ungratifying remains are visible today, and that after a tedious climb. The medieval structure had a keep with six towers, a chapel and cistern, and a curtain wall. Pausanias saw here a temple of Athena Saïtis. Maps are found in Schaefer and McLeod (above).

²³ The Contarini governors, before the loss of Argos in 1463, as listed in Hopf, 382-383, are: 1390, Michele; 1399, Albano; 1433, Marino q. Alessandro; 1444, Benedetto q. Luca; 1449, Priamo maggiore; 1454, Bertuccio q. Dominico; 1461, Dominico q. Bernardo.

²⁴ The physical site provides abundant evidence for and explanation of Herakles’ hydra which was slain here.

speculation.

uno locho chiamata Aïto . . . verso la montagna per tramontana in fina uno pozo chmato i pozo de La Thura, in fina il qual--traversando la campagna per tramontana in fin a una montagna chimata Basso Gremio.

After the wall and river of Myloi, and the castle of Kiveri, they went north from the bay to the cave and neighborhood of Kefalari, under a high peak (Aïto = eagle), the highest peak in sight.²⁵ Kefalari (“headwaters”) had been known from prehistoric times until the early 1980s as a spring and healing shrine.²⁶ I suggest that Kefalari was the well of La Thura, and that the Venetians understood a name such as λαθρία (“hidden”), describing the caves, for *La Thura*. Basso Gremio, then, would derive from κρημνός, or “overhanging crag,” describing the stalactites and rock formations at the entrances to the caves.

verso levante per circondar et includer el confin et territorio da Napoli -- verso levante et andando per le cime de le montagne.

On 23 January 1481[82], Minio met at Castellazo with Ahmed Paşa and then Süleyman where they each stood on their side of the line: “de l’una parte et de l’altra separadamente.”²⁷ Castellazo is ancient Tiryns, four miles from Nauplion, somewhat closer to the coast then than it is now.²⁸ A straight line drawn east-south-east from Kefalari to the mountains will pass quite close to Tiryns. An eastward route from Tiryns would go to the eastern foothills in the vicinity of Ag. Adrianos, and then south-south-east along the mountain ridges past the bay of Drepanon, the plains of Candia and Iria, to end on the coast just east of Thermissi.

A relief map makes clear the narrow areas of coastal plains south to the Akte, the southern coast of the Argolid peninsula. No specific mention is made of the lowlands and various capes (and islands) west of Castri and bordering on the gulf of Argos, or of Aiginia and Listrina, though all those areas were included in Nauplion territory. It will be remembered that Antonio Marinato was taking wood from the island of Spetsai. Only specific disputed areas were at issue in the territorial discussions.

If these speculations, particularly about the western half of the territorial boundaries are correct, Nauplion acquired, or was confirmed in possession of 20,000 *stremmata*, a generous part of the Argolid land, and most of the best farmland. Minio and Dario had pointed out the discrepancy between the Argos and Nauplion populations--200 households in Argos, as compared with 20-25,000 residents in Nauplion and the territory--and it is clear that the territorial division took that discrepancy into consideration, despite the fact

²⁵ Here Minio seems to have his geographical points slightly out of order. Aïto will be the 700-meter peak of Chaon (which has, among other meanings, that of “chasm”), named for the great cave underneath which Minio calls La Thura.

²⁶ A site of incomparable beauty, where Romans came to shrines of Demeter and Pan, where in late antiquity Christians made pilgrimages to a basilica with gold mosaics dedicated to the Apostle Paul, where Greeks took refuge from bombing raids by Nazis and the RAF, Kefalarion has in the last twenty years become a ghost town, now that the powers that be have seen fit to drain off all water into irrigation schemes.

²⁷ *Dispacci* f 67r and 210.43.

²⁸ Comparisons with maps, and photographs over the last century, show the extent to which silting and intentional landfill projects have altered the coastline.

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that the Ottomans held the advantage and were under no compulsion to negotiate at all.

■ APPENDIX 8 ■

■ Notes on Krokondēlos Kladas and the Kladas Family²⁹ ■

This Appendix brings together the texts so far identified which are assumed to relate to the Krokondēloi and Kladai, other than the references printed in the various Sathas volumes and the Senato Mar records.³⁰

* * * * *

Chronique de Morée: Livre de la conquête de la princée de l'Amorée

§803 . . . Et trova .j. bon homme grec de la Grant Arracove qui en sournom estoit appellés Corcondille, qui estoit la venue pour vendre sa soye; liquelz entra en paroles avec cellui chevalier. Sire monseignor Girars se corouça par yre que il ot. Si fery d'un tronchon de lance que il tenoit en sa main cellui Corcondille, ne say .j. cop ou .ij.³¹

There was a Greek man of standing at Great Arakova whose surname was Corcondille, who had come there to sell his silk. He had words with a certain knight. Sir Girars struck him because of the anger he had. He struck him a blow with the lance which he had in his hand, this Korkondēlos, I do not know, one or two blows.

* * * * *

In 1366, a donation was recorded from Leon Kladas to the monastery of the Brontocheion at Mistra.³²

²⁹ *Kladas*, from κλαδί κλάδος “branch, season of pruning”; the coat-of-arms developed on Kefalonia shows two trees.

³⁰ Some additional family information and directions for further research have been included. Alexis G. Savvides, “Bibliographical Advances in Byzantine Prosopography of the Middle & Later Periods: Part 1,” *Medieval Prosopography* (1992) 97, “Kladas,” gives references to which I have not had access.

³¹ Jean Longnon, Jean, *Chronique de Morée: Livre de la conquête de la princée de l'Amorée* (Paris 1949). §§803-817. Antoine Bon, *La Morée franque* (Paris 1969) 146, 169-170, 378-382, 386-387. The story is not found in the Greek version of the *Chronicle*, which ends with events up to 1292, whereas this episode happened in 1295, the year before Florent's death in 1296. The various versions of the *Chronicle* have been much debated: Jeffreys makes a convincing case for the Greek version having been the original, and the French a slightly later Moreote adaption and continuation, but this does not explain why a successful Greek revolt was not added to the Greek version. M. J. Jeffreys, “The *Chronicle* of the Morea: Priority of the Greek Version,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 68 (1975) 304-350.

³² Miklosich & Müller I, 482, one item in a list of donations of property to the monastery. A *trypa* is a hole in the ground or a cave. Without further information, this cannot be securely identified, but there are well-known caves in western Manē, particularly the Alepotrypo (Foxhole) Cave at Diros.

ἕτερον ἀμπέλιον ἀπὸ τοῦ κύρ Λέοντος τοῦ Κλαδᾶ περὶ τὴν Τρύπην.

“The other vineyard from Lord Leon Kladas at Trypē.”

* * * * *

In 1375, several Krokondēloi made a donation to this same monastery of the Brontocheion.³³

† Ἡμεῖς οἱ δοῦλοι τοῦ ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου [Τ]σ[α]ούσιος καὶ στρατοπεδάρχης οἱ Ἀκροκόνδυλοι, κοντάσταυλος ὁ Ἀκροκόνδυλος καὶ κοντόσταυλος ὁ Γεωργιτζόπουλος καὶ Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ Ἀκροκόνδυλος ἐπιδίδομεν τὰ χοράφια τὰ ποτιστικά ὅσα ἔχομεν εἰς τὴν Τέρκοβαν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τοῦ Βροτοχίου τὰ ὅποια εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ τοποθεσίᾳ

We, the servants of our Holy Lord, Tsaousios the *stratopedarch*, the Krokondyloi, *konstastaulos* Krokondylos and *konstastaulos* Geōrgitzopoulos, and Andronikos Krokondylos, present the watered fields which we have in Terkova to the church of the most holy Theotokos of the Brontochion which belong to this place.

* * * * *

Manuel II Paleologos wrote several letters about his journey to the Morea and the revolt of the Moreote archons when in 1415 he called for an increase in taxes to finance the rebuilding the Hexamilion wall to defend against the Ottomans.³⁴

Ἅλλοι δὲ γε, οἳ καὶ τῆς μερίδος ἦσαν τῆς τῶν πρωτείων μηδέσι παραχωρούσης, οἱ χεῖρους δ' οὗτοι τὴν γνώμην, μηδ' ὅτι οὖν, μήτε πράττοντες μήτε διανοοῦμενοι τῷ σφῶν κατάλληλον σχήματι καὶ τῇ δόξῃ ἢ συνέζων, ἐξ ἀπονοίας πάντα δὴ λίθον ἐκίνουν τοῦ γξείρημα ἀνατρέψαι πειπώμενοι. καὶ ἦσαν μὲν βραξύτατος ἀριθμός, οὐκ εὐαριθμήτοις μέντοι, ἀκεπραϊοτέροις οὖσιν, ἐὼ γὰρ λέγειν ὡς ἀβελτέροις, τῆς ἐν σφίσι λύμης μεταδεδώκεσαν.

But then, there was another category of people yielding in rank to no one among the highest, but certainly inferior in their judgment, who neither intended nor did anything at all befitting their station and reputation of long standing, and who in their madness left no stone unturned in their efforts to destroy our undertaking. Although these were few in

³³ Nikos Beēs, “Diorthoseis kai paratērēseis: eis afierotērion tou 1375 etous pros tēn en Mystra monēn tēs Panagias tou Brontochiou,” *Nea Sion* 5-6 (1907)245, 247-248: Byzantine military titles are difficult to translate. A modern *stratopedarchēs* is a barracks’ chief. A *konstastaulos* was an officer, third in rank after a *protostratoras* and a *megas strataopedarchēs*. A resolution by the Signory of 23 March 1482 includes the name of a Joannes Condostaulus Culida (Kladas). Sathas VII, 28.

³⁴ *The Letters of Manuel II Paleologus*, text, translation & notes George T. Dennis (Washington 1977) Ep. 68. Manuel never completely describes the rebellion or gives names. There are various references in the *Short Chronicles* to the event, the most extensive of which is: καὶ [μηνὶ μαρτίῳ λ', ἡμέρα τοῦ Μεγάλου Σαββάτου] ἐπίασεν τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοῦ Μωρεῶς. “On 30 March, on Great Saturday [the Saturday before Easter] the archons of the Morea rebelled.” Entry for 15 July 1415, *Short Chronicles*, 247, #27. This was recorded in the Argolid three and a half months after the event.

number, they managed to spread their contagion to a large number of the more unsophisticated, not to say more stupid.

* * * * *

The famous Byzantine satire, *Mazaris' Journey to Hades*, in referring to this rebellion, appears to be the source of the “Crocodile” pun on the Krokondēlos name.³⁵

τοῦ Κροκοδείλου καὶ Ἑλλαβούρκου τοῦ δρεπανηφόρου τοὺς λόγους τοὺς ἀπάτης καὶ δόλου μεστοὺς γειναίως διενεγκών

the lying, ripened words, the trap of the calculating Crocodile, the sickle-bearing Swamp-Scum.

* * * * *

Krokondēlos Kladas and his wife made a donation to a church at Karitena.³⁶

† Ωρᾶς τρανὸς, ἄνθρωπε, βλέψον κ(αὶ) εἶδε
ἤκημα λαμπρὸ(ν) τῆς [π]αναμόμου κόρης
ἀνα [.
. λ]α(μ)πρίνας τήνδε
ἣς ἀνταμνηβὴν ἐλέους πολωπληθοῦς
ὁ Κροκόντηλος βασιλ[. . . .]ς ἡκέτης
ἅμα σηνζήγω [.
.] ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, φήλταται.

Look clearly, man, look and see / the radiant house of the all-blameless maiden /
. having repaid this splendid in return for abundant mercies /
Krokondēlos, servant (of the queen?), with his wife / for you, most dear.

* * * * *

These are pitifully few fragments out of which to construct a family history or a biography. Krokondēlos (“the Crocodile, the sickle-bearing Swamp Scum”) who rebelled against the Emperor in 1415 was father of Theodoros Kladas, στρατιωτικὸς ἀρχηγὸς

³⁵ *Mazaris' Journey to Hades*, edition with translation and notes by Seminar Classics 609, SUNY-Buffalo (1975) xxvi-xxviii, 84.12-13, 118 n84.

³⁶ One piece of this undated inscription is embedded in the wall by the entrance of the church of Zoodochos Pēgē (Life-bearing Fountain) in Karitena; other pieces are kept in the Evangelistria. The inscription as originally carved was in two long lines. The lines do not fit together now, and there is disagreement about the exact transcription. This transcription is taken from Denis Feissel and Anne Philippidis-Braat. “Inventaires en vue d’un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance. III. Inscriptions du Péloponnèse, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 353-354. The transcription in G. A. Stamiris, “E epigraphi tou Krokontylou,” *Peloponnesiaka* 3-4 (1958-1959) 84-86, has a number of differences from this. N. K. Moutsopoulos, *Ē architektonikē ton ekklēsion kai ton monastērion tēs Gortynias* (Athens 1956) 48-56, and photographs, Fig. 29, 30, & 31. Stamiris and Moutsopoulos both assume the Krokondēlos is the one discussed here and not his grandfather.

(Commander) of Moreote troops under the Byzantine Despotate, and the grandfather of Krokondēlos Kladas (maker of the donation above) who rebelled against the Venetians and Ottomans.³⁷

After his escape from Manē, Krokondēlos went into service with Ferdinand of Aragon, King of Sicily, by whom he was given the title of “Magnifico” and a pension of 4,000 ducats a year, which the king’s heir was to continue. Kladas went to Durazzo with an army from Calabria and others to fight with George and Zuane Castriotis against the Ottomans in Albania. He returned to Manē a few years later, accompanied by his brother, Marco Epifanio (see quotation immediately above), and his sons, and managed to recapture Vardounia which he again gave to the Venetian authorities.³⁸ Krokondēlos died in 1490, fighting at Monemvasia against the Turks.

In 1594, Korkondēlos’ great-grandson, Theodoros Kladas, petitioned the Senato for the governorship of the island of Kefalonia, to which the family had moved. This petition, which included an account of his own heroism and that of his family, says:

ὅτις Κορκόνδειλος καὶ Εμμανουὴλ Κλαδάς ἀδελφοὶ ὑπερασπιζόμενοι ἀνδρείως τὸν Βραχίονα τῆς Μάνης μὲν 150 ἵππεις συνεκρούσθησαν μετὰ πολυπλοῦς Ὀθωμανικοῦ Στρατοῦ παρὰ τῇ Μονεμβασίᾳ, ὅπου ὁ μὲν Κορκόνδειλος ἐζωγρήθη καὶ ἐξεδάρη ζῶν.³⁹

This Korkondēlos and Manuel Kladas, brothers, who defended bravely the Arm of Manē, fought with 150 horsemen against the numberless Ottoman army at Monemvasia, where Korkondēlos was flayed and gave up his life.⁴⁰

* * * * *

The Kladas family remained staunch in its tendencies. A report in 1533 written by a *stratiote* in the service of Süleyman I identified potential Moreote support for a movement against the Turks.⁴¹

³⁷ *Lexicon*, Kladas. I have not seen a primary source with this name or relationship, though it could be inferred from the name of Krokondēlos’ oldest son.

³⁸ Rogan, 32. Sathas, *Anekdotia*, 72-73.

³⁹ *Archaiia Istorika Gekonota tēs Oikogeneias tōn Komētōn Kladaion apo ta 1366 mechri 1803* (Athens, 1872) 11, by a Count Yannis Kladas of Kefalonia. This is a fragile pamphlet of 13 pages of Greek text which appears, on first glance, to give citations and to have been translated into Italian and English. On closer inspection, the Italian and English sections have been condensed by half, and citations primarily consist of “Originals are to be found in the Archives of Venice.” Most of the items, with the exception of the Miklosich & Müller and the petition from Theodoros Kladas, duplicate those in Sathas, and the author does not seem aware of the literary references. Dēmētrios Gr. Kampouriglos, *Oi Chalkokondylai* (Athens, 1926) 20-27, cites this work in identifying eponymous members of the Chalkokondyles family which originated in the area, drawing particularly on the titles in the inscription of the group donation, p. 2 and n5 above. He does not make a specific family connection to Krokondēlos Kladas, and confuses him with his grandfather.

⁴⁰ Sathas, *Anekdotia* (Athens, 1867) 73, apparently does not know of this source and says Korkondēlos was butchered. For a contemporary description, see Merle Danner, “The Killing Fields of Bosnia,” *The New York Review of Books*, September 14, 1998, pp 73-74.

⁴¹ “État de la Grèce en 1533,” Sathas VI, 315, published in Bologna in 1533 with the title “Advisi da uno Cristiano de Constantinopoli, de tutti li modi e remedii particolari per potere offendere et destrugere la potentia del Turco . . . (the title continues for three times that length).”

et li s. Cantacusseno et Clada alle città et stati loro, et al Brazo de Mayna, dove sono 18 terre che già sole rebelorno al Turcho.

and the Sirs Kantakuzenos and Kladas in their cities and places, and in Manē where there are 18 lands that already rebelled once against The Turk.

* * * * *

- Krokondēlos (1425-1490), son of Theodoros Kladas, appears to have had two brothers: Marco Epifani and Manoli.⁴²
- Jacomo Barbarigo, *proveditor* of the Morea, refers to “Piphani et Corcondillo Clada, fradelli,” “ser Clada, et Crocondilo suo fradelo,” “Manolo, et Crocondilo Clada . . . menor fradello,” “Epifani Clada podestà,” “ser Manoli Clada,” “Spec. Epiphanius et Corcondilus Clada filius,” but indicated that Krokondēlos took the position of leadership.⁴³
- Krokondēlos had two sons, Theodoros (c.1475-c.1541) and Manoli. These were *capi* in Friuli in 1513 and can be traced through numerous documents.⁴⁴
- Marco Epifani, Krokondēlos’s brother, was recognized by the Senato as “spectabilis” and as one of the “primarius nobilis” was given estates in Kefalonia where he served as Venetian *podestà*.⁴⁵ Marco Epifani appears to have named a son Krokondēlos.⁴⁶

⁴² Eleutherodakis, *Enkyklopaidikon Lexicon* (Athens 1929) Vol. 7, 672, s.v. Κλαδάς, a limited source of information, mentions only Krokondēlos. Sathas gives Theodoros two sons, Marco Epifanio and Krokondēlos. Sathas, *Ellēnika Anekdotia* (Athens, 1867) 65.

⁴³ Barbarigo 41, 29, 33, 40, 60. A motion of the Senato Mar refers to “quatuor ex ipsis fratribus viriliter pugando a Turcis interfecti fuerunt.” Senato Mar R. 8, f 46v.

⁴⁴ Sphrantzes, *Memorii* XL #9; *Chronicon* XL #9. Sathas, *Ellēnika Anekdotia*, 72. Sathas VII #204 of 7 February 1513. *Lexicon*, Kladas. There are many references in Sanudo, for example *Diarii* XVIII. 320 where it lists various *capi*, the number of *stratioti* they lead, and the amounts paid them.

⁴⁵ *Archaiia Istorika Gegonota*, 11.

⁴⁶ Mihail-Dimitri Sturdza, *Dictionnaire historique et généalogique des grandes familles de Grèce, d’Albanie, et de Constantinople* (Paris, 1977) s.v. “Clada/Kladas.” He is also said to have been flayed alive at Patras in 1466. *Ellēnismos*, 270.

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